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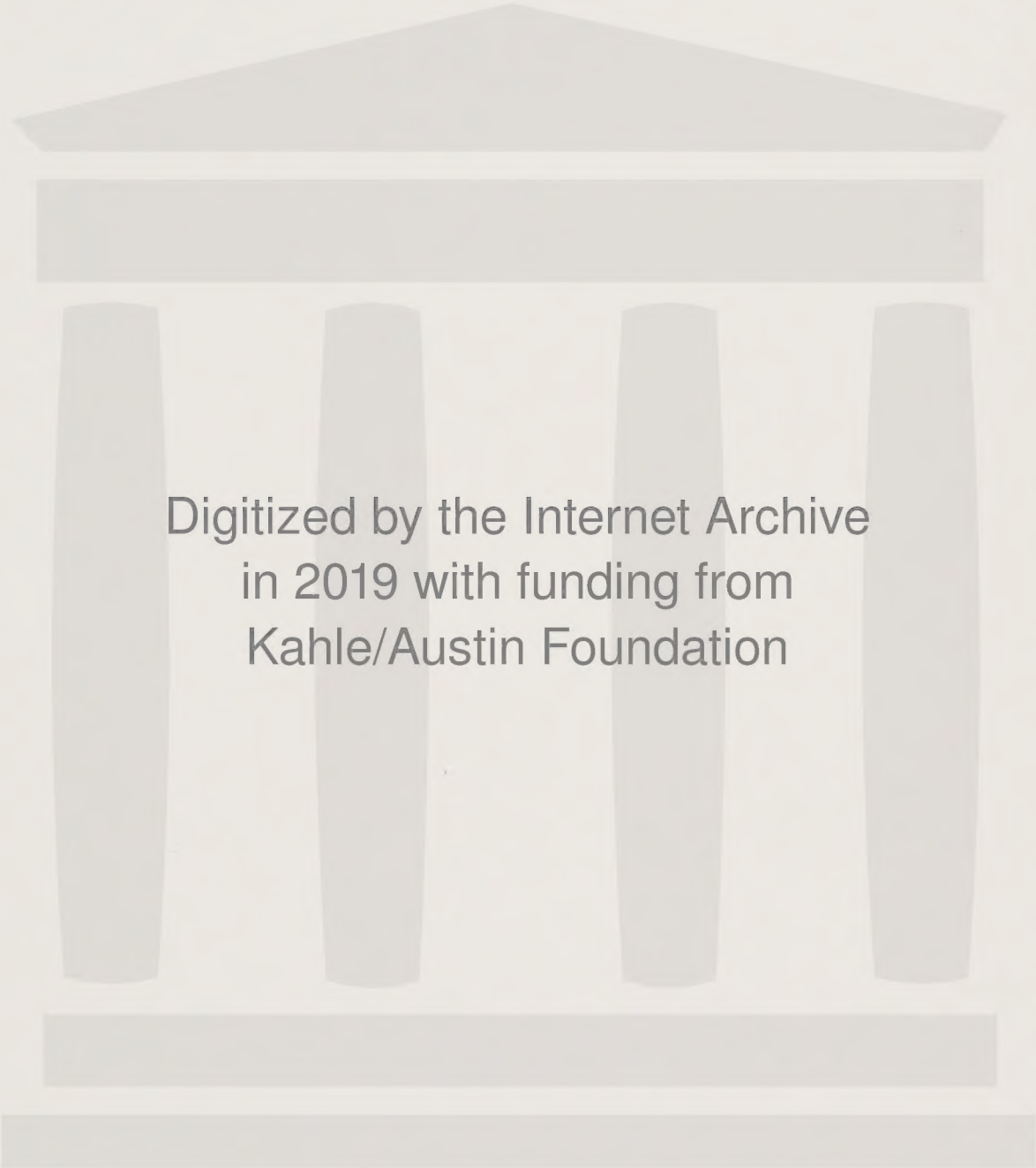

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THE

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLVI

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLVI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

J. R. REA

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PREFACE

EXCEPT for the sub-literary Greek–Latin Glossary (**3315**), all the items in this volume are documentary. They have been chosen for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the greatest general interest will be roused by **3285**, which is a Greek version, written down in the second half of the second century A.D., of a legal text known hitherto from a Demotic papyrus of the third century B.C. Its implications for legal and historical studies will need further investigation. The persistent ill fame of the emperor Elagabalus is illustrated in **3298–9**, texts of the late third century. Several items concern the prosopography of Roman officials in Egypt and the chronology of their terms of office; for example, there is a new prefect of *c.* A.D. 300–1 in **3301–3**, a new first-century epistrategus in **3273**, and a new head of the *idios logos* in **3274–5**, of the reign of Trajan. Many of the remaining documents concern officials and institutions involved in the local administration of Oxyrhynchus.

All the items have been edited by Dr. Rea, who also compiled the indexes. He would like to thank the other General Editors and Dr. Coles for their constantly available aid and comfort, Professor G. R. Hughes and Dr. W. J. Tait for specialist Egyptological advice on **3285**, and Professor O. Neugebauer for expert advice on astronomical matters in **3298–9**. The technical and scholarly work of the Oxford University Press and its readers has also made its usual invaluable contribution to the volume and is very gratefully acknowledged.

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
General Editors
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

August 1977

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All dates are A.D.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion, the signs ‵ ′ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward in a paper given to the XVth International Congress of Papyrology (Brussels, 29 August–3 September, 1977) by E. G. Turner. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). Some titles published too late to be included in that list, e.g. P. Petaus, P. Yale, are abbreviated according to the one given in *BASP* 11 (1974) 1–35. It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D(3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

I **87** (= W. *Chr.* 446) 14–15. For [ὑ]πολόγωϲ ὀμνύω read [ὁ]μ̣ολογῶ ὀμνύϲ̣. See **3308** 8 n.

170 (descr.) Text fully edited in *BASP* 13 (1976) 17–19.

IV **722** See *ZPE* 20 (1976), 58–60, for an interpretation.
27. For Ἀ̣χ[ιλλεῖ read Ἡ̣ρ̣[ακλᾷ̣. Ibid. 59.
30. For οὐδ' ἐπιε̣[read οὐδὲ μέ[ρουϲ. Ibid. 59.

VI **891** 1–2. For [Ἐφ' ὑ]πάτων Οὐα̣λ̣ερίω̣ν̣ Κων̣-
[ϲ]τ̣α̣ν̣τ̣[ίο]υ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Μ̣α̣ξ̣ι̣μ̣ι̣α̣[νοῦ
read [ἐπὶ ὑ]π̣άτων τ̣ῶ̣ν̣ κ̣υρίων ἡμῶ̣[ν
[Κων]ϲ̣τ̣α̣ν̣τ̣ί̣[ο]υ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Μ̣α̣ξ̣ι̣μ̣ι̣α̣ν̣ο̣ῦ̣.
7. For διαϲ̣..( ) read διαϲη(μοτάτου). See **3297** 1 n.

912 40. For [Ϲεβα(ϲτοῦ) Φαμε]ν̣ὼθ α̣ read and restore, probably, [Ϲεβαϲτοῦ] Θ̣ὼθ α̣. Cf. J. F. Gilliam, 'The Death of Alexander Severus' in *CÉ* 31 (1956) 149–51, esp. 151; X. Loriot, 'La date du P. Reinach 91' in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 147–55, esp. 148 n. 7, 150.

A photograph shows that the trace after the break is rather high, much more suited to theta than to nu. The resulting date, 1 Maximinus, Thoth 1, is impossible, but it is quite easy to accept that this lease for the year 2 Maximinus, A.D. 235/6, was drafted at the end of 1 Maximinus, effectively summer A.D. 235, to refer to 'the incoming 2nd year' (line 8) and with a date clause referring to 1 Maximinus, and that the fair copy was actually made on the first day of 2 Maximinus, the scribe following his exemplar unthinkingly and adding the day's date without making the consequential changes. If that is right, the date was 30 August, A.D. 235 and ought to have been expressed as 2 Maximinus, Thoth 1.

VII **1014.** Identified as Achilles Tatius in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 14–17.

VIII **1083**[1]. See Ch. Theodoridis, 'Zwei neue Wörter für Aischylos und der P. Oxy. 1083, fr. 1', in *ZPE* 20 (1976) 47–53.
1083[1] 2. See *ZPE* 24 (1977) 254.

XII **1452** 51. For οἷϲ read αἷϲ. See **3279** 18 n.
On the interpretation of ὑπ(ερ)(ετέϲιν) see ibid.

1475 36. For Παρθικοῦ read probably Πε̣ρϲ̣ι̣κοῦ. See *Collectanea Papyrologica: texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie*, ed. Ann E. Hanson, II (= PTA 20), No. 68, 36–8 n. (p. 468).

1515 14. For Ϲκ̣υβᾶτοϲ read Ϲκ̣ύβαλ̣οϲ. See **3289** 2 n.

XIV **1627** 27. For [....]υ̣ read perhaps [ἀξιω]θ̣(είϲ). See *BASP* 13 (1976) 82.

XX **2256**[6], **2256**[8]. See C. Corbato, 'Una ripresa eschilea nella *Pace* di Aristofane' in *Studi Triestini di Antichità in onore di Luigia Achillea Stella* (Trieste, 1975) 323–35.

XXII **2310.** See C. Gallavotti, 'I giambi di P. Oxy. 2310 attribuiti ad Archiloco', in *Philologus* 119 (1975) 153–62.

2338. See *ZPE* 18 (1975) 199–204 for various corrections.

2345. Various corrections in *BASP* 13 (1976) 187–8 and n. 28, 189–90.

XXIV **2418** 1. For].τικῷ read cχολ]ᾳcτικῷ. See *ZPE* 24 (1977) 199–200.

2422 38. For *Πιcομποῦς* read *Πocομποῦc* (checked from the original); cf. XLIII **3122** 5 and n. On the basis of this misreading Professor Youtie has suggested restoring *Π[ι]cονποῦc* in P. Mich. X. 602. 9–10, see *ZPE* 21 (1976) 216. This too should be corrected to *Π[ο]cονποῦς*. J. R. Rea.

XXVII **2476.** To the bibliography on the games at Panopolis add now A. Bernand, *Pan du désert*, No. 82 (pp. 233–41).

XXXI **2536.** See M. Treu, 'Theons Pindarkommentar (Pap. Oxy. **2536**)', in *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana, 1974), 62–85.

2551 verso i 20. For *Ἀντωνῖνος*] *ὁ ἕτερος* read *Ἀντωνῖνο*]*ς μικρός*. See **3299** 2 n.

XXXVI **2782.** See K. Treu, 'Liturgische Traditionen in Ägypten (zu P. Oxy. 2782)', in *Studia Coptica* (Berlin, 1974), 43–66.

XXXVIII **2843** 25. For *εἴδους* read *μέρους*. See *ZPE* 20 (1976) 58–60, which also treats the interpretation of this and the parallel documents.

2849. For a comment on the background see *ZPE* 22 (1976) 44–6.

XL See E. G. Turner, *Oxyrhynchus and Rome*, in *HSCP* 79 (1975) 1–24, esp. 16–24.

Cf. *ZPE* 24 (1977) 265–71, esp. 269–70; a new inscription, assigned to the middle of the second century A.D., from Tlos in Lycia, refers to 1,100 *citομετρούμενοι ἄνδρεc*. The *numerus clausus* suggests an organization similar to that in Oxyrhynchus.

XLI **2954.** See J. Herrmann, *Zum Edikt des . . . Heliodoros*, in *ZRG* 92 (1975) 260–6.

2985, 2986. Cf. perhaps *ZPE* 24 (1977) 129–32. The Michigan papyrus published there (inv. 347) may well concern the same Theon and Chaeremon. J. C. Shelton.

XLII **3012** 1–10. New supplements suggested in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 17–18.

3016. On *xenocritae* see *Festschrift für E. Seidl*, ed. H. Hübner *et al.* (Köln, 1975) 15–24.

3018 1–5. Various suggestions in *BASP* 13 (1976) 170–1.

XLIII **3094.** This letter is addressed, 'To Eutyches who distributes branches (*θαλλοδοτοῦντι*) under the gateway of the Serapeum by the great image'. Attention has been drawn by a reference in *Collectanea Papyrologica: texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie*, ed. Ann E. Hanson, I (= PTA 19) 321–2, n. 25, to the publication by T. Kraus in *Jahrb. d. Deutschen Arch. Inst.* 75 (1960) 88–99 of the head and foot (Abb. 1 and 2) of an over-life-size statue of Sarapis alleged to come from Oxyrhynchus.

It would be absurd to claim that the fragmentary statue and the *μεγάλη εἰκών* must be the same, but the comparison is undoubtedly interesting. J. R. Rea.

3099 7 n. The hypothesis that the Oxyrhynchite gerusia was founded *c.* A.D. 225 is now disproved by P. Wisc. II 56, a document of A.D. 209.

3119. See *ZPE* 24 (1977) 187–96 for arguments tending to date the document to the persecution of Valerian in A.D. 259/60.

3122 5 n. To the references for the village of *Ποσομποῦς* add P. Mich. X. 602. 9–10 and XXIV **2422** 38. See above under XXIV **2422** 38.

XLIV **3151**. Remarks on various sections by various authors are to be found in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 34, 35–6, 40.

XLV **3241**. See *ZPE* 20 (1976) 58–60.

P. Ant. II 67. See A. Wouters, 'P. Ant. 2. 67: a compendium of Herodian's *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας*, Book V' in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7 (1975–6) = *Miscellanea in honorem Josephi Vergote*, 601–13.

P. Ant. III 144. Identified as Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaicus*. See *CÉ* 50 (1975) 197–201.

P. Hibeh II 179. See R. Kannicht, 'Euripidea in P. Hib. 2. 179', in *ZPE* 21 (1976) 117–33, and J. Diggle, 'P. Hibeh 179 and the *Heracles* of Euripides', in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 291–4.

P. Tebt. I. Numerous items described in this volume are now published in full in P. Tebt. IV, see concordance ibid. pp. xii–xiii.

36. 9–10. For *εἰς τὴν [τετρα]*^{10}*/κα⟨ι⟩ει{ς}κοστήν* read *ειστην[.....]*^{10}*/κα εἰς Κοστῆν*. See *CÉ* 50 (1975) 267–8.

93. 57–9. Revised with commentary in *CÉ* 50 (1975) 263–7.

P. Tebt. II 335. 17. For *μεμ[ισθωμένον]* read and restore probably *πεπ[ραμένον]*. *CÉ* 50 (1975) 207.

501 descr. Edition in *Acme* 29 (1976) 141–4.

682. Identified as Xenophon, *Oec.* 18, 9. See *CÉ* 49 (1974) 354–5.

I. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

3267–3270. Leases of Fishing Rights

Leases of fishing rights are rare. The only other certain example is P. Wisc. I 6, see the improved text in *ZPE* 12 (1973) 262–4. The fragmentary P. Strasb. 569 may be another. In P. Mich. V 274, 317, and 322a and in P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. I 12 fishing rights are associated with the properties leased. Compare also P. Oxf. 12.

For state control of fishing and the regulations see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 664–6.

Three of these four papyri are of interest also for the words *χάρυβδις* and *χαρυβδεύειν*. The first means a sheet of water, perhaps a pool of rough water at the foot of some lock-gates, see **3267** 5 n. The use of it as a common noun meaning a whirlpool is recorded in *LSJ*. The verb is entirely new and evidently signifies to fish in such a piece of water, perhaps by a particular method, see **3269** 4–5, **3270** 11 n.

3267

34 4B.76/C(1–5)c — 7 × 10 cm. — *c.* A.D. 37–41

The back is blank.

. . . . .

.....]ν̣ενο .[.]....
.....] τ̣οπαρχίας
.....].....φησι τῷ
.....]τ̣ωι ἔτει Γαΐου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ]ανικοῦ χάρυβδιν ἐφ' ᾧ
.....]ς̣ ἐργατείας καὶ τῆς
.....]ς̣ πάσης ἑκάτερον
μεταδο]ῦ̣ναι̣ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πε-
ριγινομέ]ν̣ου ἰχθύος ἔχειν ἑκά-
τερον α]ὐ̣τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ. ὁ δὲ
μεμισθωμέ]νος παρέξεται ἁλεῖς
.....]...κ̣εις. μηδενὶ δὲ τῶν
ὁμολογ]ο̣ύ̣ν̣των ἐξόντ̣ο̣ς̣ πα-
ραβαίνειν] τ̣ι̣ τ̣ῶν ὁμολ̣[ογηθέν-
των .....].[..].[.....

. . . . .

11 l. ἁλιεῖς

'(X agrees to lease to Y?) the pool (near the village of A of the B?) toparchy (which he says he bought in?) the . . . *n*th year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on condition that each of them shares the supply of fishing-tackle(?) and all . . . and that each takes a half share of all fish coming in. The lessee will supply fishermen (in sufficient numbers?). None of the agreeing parties shall have power to contravene any of the agreed conditions . . .'

1–3 This passage remains rather intractable. The traces suggest *ἐν οἷ[c] ἔχει [περὶ (κώμην) τῆς (ποιᾶς)] τοπαρχίας (ποιοῖς?) ἐδάφηcι* (= *ἐδάφεcι*), but this is hard to reconcile with the date in the dative and the isolated position of *χάρυβδιν* (5), and the presumed misspelling is also not encouraging. Possibly *χάρυβδιν* is the end of a relative clause which began with *ἥν*, defining the position of the pool and the date of its construction or acquisition. If *φηcί* is to be recognized, it is not preceded by *ὡc* or an infinitive ending.

4 Restore probably *διελθόντι* or *ἐνεcτῶτι* and the number of the regnal year. Regnal years of Gaius run from one to five. Only *δευτέρῳ* is excluded by the trace. The dative case makes it appear that this is some antecedent date and not the year for which the lease was agreed, but if it is right to take *τω* at the end of 3 as the article belonging to *ἔτει* only the current year or the one immediately preceding are at all likely to be referred to and this would confine the document to the reign of Gaius.

5 *χάρυβδιν*. In **3269** and **3270** the procedure denoted by the verb *χαρυβδεύειν* is practised in the vicinity of some locks. It looks as if the *χάρυβδιc* might be the pool of rough water at the foot of the locks.

In P. Ryl. II 123 iii 11 *Χάρυβδιν* is interpreted as a village name, see index (p. 450) and WB III Abschn. 16a s.v., but the detailed description of it by toparchy, village, and *κλῆροc*, indicates that it is a common noun as here.

See also *Collectanea Papyrologica* (*Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie*, ed. Ann E. Hanson) Part II (= PTA 20) No. 68. One clause of this land lease of A.D. 266 runs (17–22):—*ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶc τοὺc μεμιcθωμένο[νc] ἔχειν ἄνευ φ⟨ό⟩ρου πρὸc cυνβροχιcμὸν τῆc λινοκαλάμηc ἣν ἔχειc περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα πληcίον λάκκου Διογενίδοc λίμνην οὖcαν ἐντὸc χαρύβδεωc Πacινείκου ἀπὸ μηνὸc Παχών*, 'on condition that we, the lessees, are to have, rent-free, for the retting of the flax, the reservoir which you possess near the same Antipera Pela, close to the cistern of Diogenis, and which is within(?) the pool of Pasinicus, from the month of Pachon'. It is not at all clear what sort of sheet of water the *λίμνη* was, nor is it possible to be sure whether it formed part of the *χάρυβδιc* or not, since *ἐντόc* frequently means 'on this side of'.

6 *ἐργατείαc*. In X **1450** 6 *ἐργατεία* seems to have a concrete sense, 'tools or workmen', says the note. Here, if it is not abstract, it should mean 'tackle', since the fishermen are to be supplied by the lessee (11). Restore, perhaps, something like *τῆc ἁλιευτικῆ]ς ἐργατείαc καὶ τῆc* | 7 *[ἄλληc ἐπιμελεία]ς πάcηc*.

9 *ἰχθύοc*. For the collective sense cf. XIX **2234** 16.

11 *ἁλεῖc*. For the contraction cf. J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek* ii 89–90; for *-ειc* acc. pl. cf. Mayser i 270–1.

12]...*κειc*. The traces seem to be—1: foot curved to left. 2: part of the left-hand side of a round letter. 3: part of a long descender, *ι* or *ρ*. The word is not *πελέκειc*, cf. P. Cair. Zen. IV 59783. 11, 16 *πελέκειc ἁλιευτικοί*.

E. G. Turner has suggested *αὐ]τάρκειc*, 'sufficient', P. J. Parsons *τοὺc ἐπ]ιειcκεῖc*, 'able, capable'. Both words would suit the meagre traces, but this sense of *ἐπιειcκήc* (see *LSJ* s.v. ii, 2) is not certainly attested in the papyri. For *αὐτάρκηc* cf. P. Lond. III 948 (p. 220). 11 *παρεχόμενοc ὁ κυβερνήτηc τοὺc αὐτάρκειc ναύταc*. For the order *ἁλιεῖc τοὺc αὐτάρκειc*, strange at first sight, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri* ii 2 § 64 (pp. 57–8).

3268

46 5B.48/D(4–8)b 7 × 11 cm. Second century

The back is blank.

Διονυσίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν
αὐτῷ ἐπιτηρηταῖς ἰ-
χθύος πόλεως νομοῦ
Ὀξυρυγχείτου
5 παρὰ Σαραπᾶ Ἀθηναί[ου
τοῦ Σαραπίωνος. ἑκου-
σίως ἐπιδέχομαι τὴν
ἄγραν τοῦ ἐκβησομένου
ἰχθύος διώρυχος Θεμό-
10 θεως σὺν ὑποχέας
καὶ θύρας ἀφέσεως Φοβόου
φόρου συ.[.....] δ̣ραχμῶ̣ν
..]α̣κοσίῳ[ν καὶ κε]ραμίου
12–15 letters]ο̣ς[...

. . . . .

2–3 ἰ|χθυος 10–11 l. σὺν ὑποχεῦσι καὶ θύραις

'To Dionysius and his fellow supervisors of fish for the city and nome of Oxyrhynchus, from Sarapas son of Athenaeus grandson of Sarapion. Of my own free will I undertake the fishing for the fish forthcoming from the canal of Themothis(?) together with the fish-traps(?) and doors of the sluice at Phoboou at the rent . . . of 200(?) drachmas and a jar . . .'

2 On ἐπιτηρηταί see F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 237–46, N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v.

3 πόλεως νομοῦ. Cf. BGU IV 1062 (= W. *Chr.* 276). 3–4, as corrected in BL I 93 from W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 36.

4 At the end a long horizontal acts as a filler sign.

9–10 Θεμό|[10]θεως. The name is new. The last two letters in 9 might possibly by λφ.

10 ὑποχέας. Cf. **3269** 2 n.

12 συ.[.....]. This recalls τὸν συνφωνηθέντα φόρον in **3269** 10 but a phi should have left some trace and space tells against συμφωνηθέντος, which in any case would seem to require the article. Other possibilities, suggested by E. G. Turner and P. J. Parsons, might be συνόλ(ου), σύνπ(αντι), and συναγ(ομένου), but no exact parallel for any of these has yet been found. Before δραχμῶν we might expect ἀργυρίου, perhaps abbreviated to αργ⁻.

13 Space favours [δι]α̣κοσίῳ[ν, but [τρι]α̣κοσίῳ[ν may be possible. The ligature to kappa excludes δραχμῶ̣|[13][ν ε]ἴκοσι.

κεραμίου. Cf. P. Wisc. I 6. 13–14, 20–22, where the jars contain fish products, θριccία and γαρηρά.

3269

28 4B.57/L(1–3)a 8 × 9 cm. Third century

The back is blank.

. . . . .

.....] ἄγραν ἰχθύ[ων 6–8 letters ἀνα-]
βάϲεωϲ τοῦ ἐνεϲτῶτοϲ α (ἔτουϲ)″ ἀπό τε ὑπο-
χέων πρὸϲ ταῖϲ περὶ Πέλα θύραιϲ Τα(ν)-
ύρεωϲ καλουμέναιϲ ἐπὶ τῷ ϲὲ καὶ χα-
5 ρυβδεύειν κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον μέ-
ροϲ ἐν ταῖϲ αὐταῖϲ θύραιϲ πρὸϲ τὸ ἔ-
χειν τοὺϲ μεμιϲθωκόταϲ τὰ λοι-
πὰ τέταρτα τρία παρέχονταϲ λί-
να καὶ ϲκάφαϲ καὶ ἁλιέαϲ ὧν πάντω(ν)
10 τὸν ϲυνφωνηθέντα φόρον αὐτόθι
ἀπεϲχήκαμεν διὰ χειρὸϲ ἐκ πλήρουϲ
πρὸϲ τὸ τὴν ἄγραν αὐτὸν ποιήϲαϲθαι
ἀ]κ̣ωλύτωϲ ἐφ᾽ ὃν προϲήκι χρόνο(ν)
...]...ιαϲ οὔϲηϲ τῷ [Ζ]ωίλῳ δια
15 .....] ποιήϲαϲθαι .....τ᾽ταιϲ

. . . . .

2 αϛ″ 3 τᾱ 9 παντῶ 13 l. προϲήκει; χρονῡ

'(We agree that we have leased to you?) the right to fish . . . (during?) the Nile flood of the present first year from the fish-traps(?) by the sluice-gates at Pela called the gates of Tanyris on condition that you also(?) fish the pool(?) with a fourth share (in the catch) in the same sluice gates so that the lessors shall have the remaining three shares on providing nets (lines?) and boats and fishermen, for all which things we have received on the spot the agreed rent in cash in full so that he may do the fishing without hindrance for the appropriate term, with a proportionate share reserved(?) to Zoilus . . . to do(?) . . . .'

1 *ἄγραν ἰχθύ[ων*. Cf. **3270** 9, P. Wisc. I 6. 3–4; or *ἰχθύ[οϲ* cf. **3268** 8–9. One of the items leased in P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 12 is *θήρα ἰχθύαϲ* and the same phrase occurs in official reports and accounts, P. Hamb. 6, P. Osl. III 89–91, PSI III 160, VII 735. After *ἰχθύων* in this position **3270** has *ὑδάτων τῆϲ οὔϲηϲ ἀναβάϲεωϲ*. Here we might have had either *ὑδάτων* or *τῆϲ οὔϲηϲ*.

2 *ἀπό τε ὑποχέων*. Cf. **3268** 10. The translation 'fish-traps' is a mere guess. The word *ὑποχεύϲ* is known only from *CGL* iii 368. 6, where it is a gloss on Latin *trulla*, cited in the section *de aureis*, and so evidently from Juvenal, *Sat.* iii 108. *Trulla* is a vessel of some sort, perhaps a ladle or scoop. A much better attested word is *ὑποχή*, denoting some kind of fishing-net.

The *τε* is difficult. Perhaps it goes with *καὶ χαρυβδεύειν* even though the verb is in a subordinate construction. As a reading it is unavoidable.

3 Pela is a village in the western toparchy, cf. e.g. X **1285** 81. From the name of Antipera Pela in the same toparchy (XIV **1659** 42, cf. XXVII **2473** 16, XIV **1637** 33) we know that both villages stood by a considerable body of water, probably the ancient equivalent of the Bahr Yusuf. This agrees

with the fact that Oxyrhynchus itself, which had two quarters called North Quay and South Quay (*Βορρᾶ Κρηπῖδος, Νότου Κ.*) was either in the western toparchy or adjoined it on its south side (XII **1475** 22 n., XII **1421** 3 n.).

Τα(ν)ύρεως. Cf. **3270** 10, 12. New as a place-name, it is cited dubiously as a woman's name in NB.

8–9 *λίνα*. Translate probably 'nets' rather than 'lines'. The Oxyrhynchites are supposed to have abstained from eating fish caught on hooks because of the danger of the hook having touched a sacred fish, Plut. *De Iside et Os.* 7, Aelian, *H.A.* x 46. In fact fish-hooks have turned up in the boxes of Oxyrhynchus papyri, but though they seem to be made of some sort of bronze, to judge from the verdigris on them, there is no guarantee that they are contemporary with the papyri.

In XIX **2234** 14 *λίνων* almost certainly refers to nets. Fishing with lines and bait during that mass poaching expedition is hardly conceivable.

12 *αὐτόν*. The construction has changed since the subjective *ϲε* in 4; cf. *τῷ [Ζ]ωίλῳ*, 14.

14 [...]...*ίαϲ*. Perhaps restore [*ἀνα*]*λογίαϲ*, with reference to the profit-sharing mentioned above, cf. *ZPE* 3 (1968) 3–5 = H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 947–9; *ἐξουϲίαϲ* seems not to fit the traces.

15 .....*τ'ταιϲ*. This looks like a diastole between two mutes, as occurs commonly in third-century texts. Possibly, however, it is a sign of abbreviation, with *ταιϲ* following separately. A relevant word would be *θρίττα*, cf. **3268** 13 n., but although the first letter might well be theta the intervening traces seem to be too extensive for *θρίτταιϲ* or even *θρείτταιϲ*; nor does this word suggest any easy restoration of the text.

3270

18 2B.73/D(d) 15×25·5 cm. 14 September–15 October, A.D. 309

ὑπ̣ατ̣[είαϲ τ]ῶν δεϲποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ
Λικιν[ν]ίου Ϲεβαϲτοῦ καὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνϲταντίνου
υἱ[ο]ῦ βαϲιλέων. (vac.)
Αὐρηλίῳ Ϲαραπίωνι Ἀφύγχιοϲ ἀπὸ τῆϲ λαμ(πρᾶϲ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτηϲ)Ὀξυ-
5 *ρυγχιτῶν πόλεωϲ καὶ τοῖϲ κοινωνοῖϲ μιϲθωταῖϲ*
ε̣ἰχθυηρᾶϲ πόλεωϲ Ὀξυρυγχίτου (vac.)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Λουκίου Λουκίου ἀπὸ τῆϲ αὐτῆϲ πόλε[ω]ϲ
καὶ τ]ῶν κοινω[ν]ῶν. ἑκουϲίωϲ ἐπιδεχόμεθα μ[ιϲ]θ̣ώϲ̣α̣ϲ-
θαι ἄγραν εἰχθύων ὑδάτων τῆϲ οὔϲηϲ ἀναβάϲεωϲ
10 *θυρῶν Τανύρεωϲ καὶ Ματρίνου ὥϲτε ἡμᾶϲ χα̣[ρ]υ̣β̣δ̣ε̣[ύ-*
ειν διὰ τῶν θυρῶν ἢ καὶ ἄλλουϲ ἀγρεύειν τ[..]...[
καὶ τελέϲομεν ὑπὲρ φόρων τῶν θυρῶν Τα[νύρεωϲ
καὶ Ματρίνου ἡμῖν τοῖϲ μιϲθωταῖϲ ἀργυρίο[υ τάλαντα
δεκατέϲϲερα καὶ δραχμὰ̣ϲ̣ τριϲχιλίαϲ παρ[έχοντεϲ
15 *ἡμῖν ἁλιέ[[υ̣ϲ]]`α̣ϲ̣' καὶ λί̣ν̣α̣ .[.....].του[* *c.* 10 letters
ἀ̣π̣ο̣λαμβαν..[..]..ερου....ω̣.[...].[*c.* 12 letters
τῶ̣ν περιγινομένων εἰχθύων. βεβ[αιουμένηϲ

1 *ὑπατ[ειαϲ* 3 *ὑι[ο]υ* 4 *αφυγ'χιοϲ, λαμϲ, λαμϲ* 5 *ρυγ'χιτων* 6 l. *ἰχθυηρᾶϲ*; *οξυρυγ'χιτου* 9 l. *ἰχθύων*; *ὑδατων* 10 *τανὑρεωϲ* 12 *ὑπερ* 13 l. *ὑμῖν* 15 l. *ὑμῖν* 17 l. *ἰχθύων*

δ̣ὲ̣ ἡ̣[μῖ]ν̣ τ̣ῇ̣[ς] ἐπιδοχῆς π[οι]ησόμεθα τὴν ἄγρ̣[αν ἀκωλύ-
τω[ς καὶ ἀπο]δ̣ώ̣ς̣[ο]μ̣ε̣ν̣ τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ [φ]ό̣ρον με[τ]ὰ τὴν [ἄγραν.
κυ̣ρ̣ί̣α̣ ἡ̣ [ἐπιδοχὴ καὶ ἐ]π̣ε̣ρ̣ωτ̣η̣[θ]ε̣ὶς ὡμο̣[λόγησα.
(ἀλλ̣ὰ καὶ [.....]ε̣ ἡμᾶς ἐν τ̣αῖς θύραις [Ματρίνου (καὶ?)
ἐν τοῖς ἀπηλι[ωτι]κ̣οῖς μέρεσι περειχώ̣[ματος
Σενεμσεὲ καὶ [λιβι]κ̣οῖς μέρεσι τῶν αὐτῶν θ̣[υρῶν
Ματρίνου. ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γα[λερίου Οὐαλερίου
Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ Λι[κιννίου
τῶν ἀνικήτων Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν δ[ε]ς̣π̣[οτῶν ἡμῶν
Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνο[υ] τῶν ἐπιφαν̣[εστάτων
Κα̣ι̣σ̣άρων υἱῶν τῶν βας̣[ιλ]έων [..].[
Ὀκτωβρ[

(m. 2) Αὐρηλιο[
καὶ α..[

Back (m. 3) ἐχθ(έσεως?) (ταλ.) α̣
ἔσχ(αμεν?) (ταλ.) ι ⟨(δρ.)⟩ Ἐ

22 l. περιχώματος 28 ϋιων 32 εχ^{θ} ⊏ 33 εσχ^{L} ⊏

'In the consulship of our masters Valerius Licinianus Licinius, Augustus, and Flavius Valerius Constantinus, son of the emperors.'

'To Aurelius Sarapion son of Aphynchis from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites and to his partners, contractors of the fishing concession of the city (and) of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Lucius son of Lucius from the same city, and his partners.'

'Of our own volition we offer to lease the right to fish in the waters of the present Nile flood at the lock-gates of Tanyris and Matrinus on condition that we fish the pool(?) through the lock-gates and also fish by other methods(?), and we shall pay for rents of the lock-gates of Tanyris and Matrinus to you the contractors fourteen talents and three thousand drachmas of silver, supplying for you fishermen and nets . . . of the fish that come to hand. If our offer is confirmed we shall carry out the fishing without hindrance, and we shall deliver the rent after the fishing-season(?). This offer is valid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. (And we are also to . . . in the lock-gates of Matrinus (and?) in the eastern sections of the embankment of Senemsee and the western sections of the same gates of Matrinus.)'

'In the reign of our masters Galerius Valerius Maximianus and Valerius Licinianus Licinius, the unconquered Augusti, and our masters Maximinus and Constantinus, the most noble Caesars, sons of the emperors, . . . October.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius . . . and . . .'

Back. 'Arrears, 1 (?) talent. Received, 10 talents 2,000 drachmas.'

6 πόλεως Ὀξυρυγχίτου. Cf. **3268** 3 πόλεως νομοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου. It presumably means 'city (and) nome of Oxyrhynchus'.

10 Τανύρεως. Cf. **3269** 3.

11 τ[..]...[. The very meagre traces will allow τ[ρό]π̣ο̣υ̣[ς. If the word were certain it would confirm that χαρυβδεύειν signifies a definite method of fishing. Since a charybdis is a place, τ[ό]π̣ο̣υ̣[ς migh

be attractive and could be accepted as a reading, but this good English construction, 'to hunt the woods, to fish the stream', etc., seems improbable in Greek.

14–15 *παρ[έχοντες] ἡμῖν* (= *ὑμῖν* cf. 13). This restoration seems best. In **3269** it is for the lessors to provide men and tackle. In **3267**, however, the lessee supplies them.

15–16 It is possible that the pattern was *κ[αὶ .....].του[ς* (boats of some sort?; cf. **3269** 8–9) *ὥστε ἕκαστον]* | *ἀπολαμβάνει[ν] τὸ ἑροῦν* (= *αἱροῦν*) *αὐτῷ μ[έρο]ς* [(*ποστὸν*) *πάντων*] | *τῶν περιγινομένων εἰχθύων.*

18–19 [*ἀκωλύ*]|*τως*. Cf. **3269** 13.

19 *μετὰ τὴν* [*ἄγραν*. Cf. P. Wisc. I 6. 18–19 [*ἐπὶ*] *τῇ ἄγρᾳ* (cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ἐπί* B II 2). In other types of lease one finds *μετὰ τὸν χρόνον*. This rather suggests that *ἄγρα* is used to mean the fishing season, and the mention of the Nile flood (9) reinforces the suggestion.

20 The scribe writes in the plural throughout except in the 'stipulation' clause. The singular is the standard formula, cf. D. Simon, *Studien z. Praxis d. Stipulationsklauseln*, 46, but possibly Lucius was the only representative of his party at the concluding of the contract.

21–4 This clause was either left out of the body of the contract by mistake or was added as an afterthought. The opening bracket should probably have been matched by a closing one after *Ματρίνου* in 24.

21 [.....]*ε*. The last letter is roughly made, but seems much more like *ε* than *ν*. Probably we should restore an aorist infinitive, e.g. [*χαρυβδεῦς*]*ε* (= *χαρυβδεῦσαι*), depending on a verb of agreement understood.

[*Ματρίνου*] is restored on the basis of *τῶν αὐτῶν θ*[*υρῶν*] *Ματρίνου* (23–4).

22–3 *περειχώ*[*ματος*] *Σενεμσεέ*. This is a new embankment name.

24 The space available for *Γα*[*λερίου Οὐαλερίου* is rather short; possibly the second *nomen* was accidentally omitted because of the homoeoteleuton.

24–8 Here a dating clause expressed in terms of regnal years is expected, cf. XXXI **2585** 1–2 n. Instead we have a clause that looks as if it is imitated from dates by magistrates or provincial governors. No other example is known to me. It is impossible to say whether or not the regnal year numbers were given in the damaged portion. They would be 18 (Galerius), 6 (Maximinus), 4 (Constantine), 2 (Licinius) = A.D. 309/10.

29 *Ὀκτωβρ*[. This limits the date to the period XVIII Kal. Oct.–Id. Oct. (14 September–15 October), A.D. 309. See WB III Abschn. 7 s.vv *εἴδοι, καλάνδαι, νῶναι*, for various ways in which it might have been expressed.

30–1 Restore probably something like *Αὐρήλιο*[*ς Λούκιος καὶ οἱ κοινωνοὶ μεμισθώμεθα τὴν ἄγραν*] *καὶ ἀπο*[*δώσομεν τὸν φόρον ὡς πρόκειται.*

32–3 The endorsement in 32 is close to the top edge and slightly left of the middle; that in 33 is about 2 cm. below and further to the left. If I understand them correctly, the lower entry was written first, when a representative of the lessors made a note that, of the rent of 14 talents 3,000 drachmas, 10 talents 2,000 drachmas had been received.

The higher one is a note of arrears. One might expect the sum to be the difference between the total rent and the sum mentioned in the lower endorsement, which would be 4 talents 1,000 drachmas, but there is only one figure after the talent symbol. Presumably, therefore, these notations were made on separate occasions, as their placings indeed suggest. As well as the payment of 10 talents 2,000 drachmas, noted down, at least one other instalment was paid—some blotted remains of ink near the top edge on the right might possibly be part of the record of it. The higher entry is the sum outstanding after the second or a subsequent instalment had been paid.

33 *ἔσχ*(*αμεν*?). The form restored supposes that the damaged abbreviation sign is the L-shaped wedge that is a vestigial alpha. However, it may be simply an oblique stroke, in which case perhaps *ἔσχ*(*ομεν*) should be preferred.

3271. Petition to a Prefect

39 3B.78/J(1–3)c 7·5×8·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 47–54

Only the top survives of this petition to Cn. Vergilius Capito, prefect of Egypt A.D. 47–52. It is interesting because the petitioner is apparently the mother of two Roman citizens and householder of a house in the Gamma district of Alexandria, and because it contains a word that has not yet appeared in the dictionaries.

The back is blank.

Γναίωι Οὐεργιλίωι Καπίτωνι δι(ὰ) δύο υἱ(ῶν)
Κλαυδίων Ποτάμωνος καὶ Ἀπολλ( )
παρὰ Ἰσιδώρας τῆς Ἀπολλωνίο(υ) .[
δε κατὰ δὲ τεκνοθεσίαν Διονυσίο(υ)
`τοῦ καὶ ...ωνίου´ Ἀλεξανδρ... ς̣ταθμούχου
οἰκίας τῆς οὔσης ἐ̣ν̣ τ̣ῷ̣ γ̄
...].....[

. . . . .

1 δ̣, υι° 2 απολ^λ 3 απολλωνι° 4 διονυσι°

'To Gnaeus Vergilius Capito by agency of (her) two sons Claudius Potamon and Claudius Apoll(onius?) from Isidora daughter of Apollonius but, by adoption, of Dionysius alias ...onius, Alexandrian, householder of a house in the Gamma district...'

1 Capito's term as prefect lasted from some time before 25 January, A.D. 48 till at least 24 April, A.D. 52, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 272. The first date rests on the usual view that in *CIL* iii 6024 the iteration figures for *trib. pot.* (VII) and *imp.* (XV) are correct, so placing the inscription earlier than the eighth assumption of *trib. pot.*, and that the figure for the consulship should be corrected from V (A.D. 51–4) to IV (A.D. 47–50).

Capito's successor was in office certainly by 29 March, A.D. 54, possibly earlier in that year, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 273. His predecessor was in office in Claudius' seventh term of *trib. pot.*, 25 January, A.D. 47–24 January, A.D. 48. Therefore the years in which this document may fall run from A.D. 47 to A.D. 54.

υἱ(ῶν). Presumably Isidora's sons had acquired the Roman citizenship recently, some time in the reign of Claudius. The phrasing is awkward, because it is not clear at first whose sons they are. It was perhaps a matter of precedence that, as Roman citizens, they should be mentioned before their mother.

2 *Ἀπολλ( )*. For possible names see NB and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Most likely, of course, is *Ἀπολλ(ωνίου)*, particularly as this is his maternal grandfather's name, see 3.

3–4 At the end of 3 the traces are very cramped. At the beginning of 4 the letters *δε* are placed to the left of the normal alignment, but this is slightly obscured by the fact that the interlineation in 5 also begins in ecthesis. It has not proved possible to identify here any antithesis to *κατά ... τεκνοθεσίαν*, such as *φύσει*.

It may be that the traces at the end of 3 were the letters *ου*, written too closely to satisfy the writer and so cancelled and replaced by the raised omicron; *δε* may be an erroneous repetition of *δέ*, but it is difficult to see why it should be outside the normal left-hand alignment.

4 *τεκνοθεσίαν*. This word is not in *LSJ* or Suppl., but see P. Col. Zen. I 58. 9, a reference given in S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale* under the erroneous lemma *τεκνόθεσις*, which was invented in the index of P. Col. Zen. I.

5 *...ωνίου*. Perhaps *Ἀ̣ρ̣θ̣ωνίου* or *Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ωνίου*. Other possibilities are given in F. Dornseiff–B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, 239–40; none seem more attractive than the two already mentioned.

Ἀλεξανδρ.... It looks very much as if *Ἀλεξανδρέως* was written first and altered, presumably to a feminine form intended to refer to Isidora. *Ἀλεξανδρίς* is attested, but rarely, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 116 n. 24, also *Ἀλεξανδρῖτις*, cf. *CIG* 3142. 40. Neither of these is recognizable here. I am inclined to think that *Ἀλεξανδρίνης* can be read, though I cannot find this form used of persons elsewhere. Her sons are Romans, so that one would be disposed to think that she herself was of the full citizen class of Alexandria, but that does not automatically follow. In any case the term here is both doubtfully read and of doubtful interpretation.

If, in spite of my view, the word was altered to, and not from, *Ἀλεξανδρέως*, it and the following expression will apply to Isidora's adoptive father.

σταθμούχου. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, 158. The word usually applies to the owner of premises let to tenants.

6 *τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῷ γ̄*. For the division of Alexandria into five *grammata*, alpha to epsilon, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 34–5. If *γ̄* is rightly read, this is the first documentary reference to the Gamma district, cf. *ibid.* 35. Only *α* is a possible alternative, but it seems much more likely that the left-hand part of this letter is a curved and sloping upright than that it is part of the loop of alpha.

For the whole phrase cf. BGU IV 1115. 16–17 *οἴκῳ ἐν συνοικίᾳ τῇ ο̣ὔ̣[σῃ] ἐν τῷ Δέλτα.*

3272. List of District Names

33 4B.83/C(1–2)a 9×34·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 61/2

The list occupies the middle of a tall strip of papyrus. Upside down in relation to it was a list of personal names, with patronymics and ages, preceded by a heading which may be conjecturally restored as:

6–8-letter name *κωμο]γραμματεὺς Ταλαὼ{ι}*
κατ' ἄνδρα λαογ]ραφίας τοῦ η ἱεροῦ Νέρωνος
Καίσαρος Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
] (vac.) *ἔτους* (vac.)

'N., village scribe of Talao: individual list of the poll-tax for the sacred 8th year of Nero Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator.'

On *ἱεροῦ* in this formula see O. Montevecchi in *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 212–20. If Professor Montevecchi's theory is right the heading should be dated between 29 August and 12 October, A.D. 61, see op. cit. 213–14, but there is the possibility that the heading may have been copied later from a document out of which this list was extracted. Most of the meagre remains are of the ages and the ends of the patronymics.

At first sight it looks as if this list of names was the original use of the papyrus, which is blank on the back. However, the displacement of one of the ages to a spot higher than the end of the patronymic which precedes looks as if it was done to avoid the end of the first line of the list of districts and indicates rather that the list of districts stood there first. A possible explanation might be that the piece which included the district list and the blank spaces above, below, and to the right, was cut from a used roll, and that on this a scribe wrote the list of personal names, avoiding the seven-line district list as best he might. The back is blank.

The interest and the puzzle of the district list is the meaning of the heading *δ̄ τόμος μητροπόλεως*. Does it mean 'fourth roll for the nome capital' or 'fourth section of the

nome capital'? Six names of districts follow. The total of district names attested is rather more than twenty-four, see H. Rink, *Strassen- u. Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, 52, perhaps more than thirty, see *HSCP* 79 (1975) 17 n. 50. It is difficult to be sure how many of these existed at any one time as administrative units, but it is possible that these six district names might represent about one-fourth or one-fifth of the city and form a convenient administrative division.

It seemed proper to make the text available in case that explanation is the correct one, but the usage of the word *τόμος* to mean 'roll' is common, whereas I have found no good parallel to suggest that it might mean 'section' in this sort of context.

Perhaps the text was a table of the contents of a roll and possibly it formed the first column of the roll and was followed by a register containing information arranged in six sections corresponding to the district names.

δ̄ *τόμος μητροπόλεως*
Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς
Δρόμου Θοήριδος
Δρόμου Γυμνασίου
5 *Μητρῴου*
Ἡρακλέους τό(πων)
Πλατείας

6 *τo'*

'Fourth roll for the nome capital. Lycians' Camp, Thoeris Street, Gymnasium Street, Metroum, District of Heracles, Square.'

3273. Communication to an Epistrategus

29 4B.63/C(6–7)a 17·5 × 24 cm. First century

The recipient of this document is a new epistrategus, Q. Sanquinius . . .inius Maximus, presumably related to the senatorial Sanquinii listed in *PIR*[1] iii 172–3, Nos. 133–6. The last of these also had the *praenomen* Quintus and the *cognomen* Maximus; he was twice suffect consul and died in office as legate of Lower Germany just before A.D. 47. It might be that the new epistrategus is an adopted son of this Q. Sanquinius Maximus and that the damaged element of the name is his original *nomen*.

There is no internal evidence for the date except from the handwriting, a good-sized and carefully written documentary script. It is best paralleled in P. Lond. II 276 (p. 148; Facsimiles II Pl. 12, illustrated also in F. G. Kenyon, *Palaeography of the Greek Papyri*, Pl. IV opp. p. 42); that document dates from A.D. 15, but there is no guarantee that **3273** is very close to it in date. P. Lond. II 177 (p. 167; Facsimiles II Pl. 14) of A.D. 40–1 is also not very dissimilar. It would be reasonably prudent to put **3273** down as belonging to the first century and more probably earlier in that century than later.

It is evident from the text that Oxyrhynchus lay in the division of Egypt administered by the epistrategus, but the division is not named. Oxyrhynchus lay well within the area known as the Heptanomia and presumably became part of it as soon as it was created, having previously belonged to the Thebaid. The creation of the Heptanomia 'cannot be later than Vespasian and may go back to Augustus' (J. D. Thomas in *Akten d. XIII. Intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, p. 402 n. 18). However, no epistrategi of the Heptanomia are known before the reign of Vespasian, see M. Vandoni, *Gli Epistrategi*, p. 21. The combination of uncertainties about the date of this document and the date of the creation of the Heptanomia make it impossible to say for sure whether Sanquinius was epistrategus of the Thebaid or of the Heptanomia.

The subject of the text is a mistake made in nominating to the office of sitologus a man too poor to guarantee possible deficiencies by confusion with another man who had the same name, but not the same patronymic, and who was rich enough to serve. Obviously the aim of the writer was to have the right man appointed, but the text breaks off before it becomes clear whether the document should properly be described as a report or a complaint or a petition. The sender's description of his own position is sufficiently ambiguous to add to the difficulty of deciding what his point of view was, see 2–3 n.

The back of the document is blank.

Κοΐντωι Cανκυινίωι [3–4] *.ινίωι Μαξίμωι ἐπιστρατή(γῳ)*
παρὰ Εὐδαίμονος Μάρ[κ]ου Ἀντωνίου Cπένδοντος
φορολό[γ]ου. ἐν τοῖς εἰcδοθε[ῖc]ι εἰς cε̣ι̣τολογίαν
τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου νομοῦ ἀνδράci κατὰ πλάνην
5 *ἐνεγράφη ἀντὶ Βελλέους τοῦ Διονυcίου*
εὐπόρου καὶ εὐθετοῦντος ε̣[ἰc τ]ὴν χρεί-
αν ὁμώνυμος ἕτερος Βελ[λῆc] Πατερμού-
θιος ἄθετος καὶ π[ε]νιχρός. ἀμφοτέ-
ρων δὲ ὄντων ἀπ[ὸ κ]ώμης Τακόνα
10 *τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὀξυρυγχί̣τ̣ο̣ν̣ νομοῦ, ἀλλ̣ά̣-*
γέντος ὡς πρόκε̣[ιται κ]ατὰ πλάνην τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
πατρωνύμο̣ν̣ [8–10 letters] *του* .[6–8 letters
. . . *ειμηνυθ̣*[
Βελλῆν̣ Διο̣[νυcίου
15 *ἐπιδί[δ]ωμ[ι*
. . *β̣η*[
. . .[
.]. .[
. . . . .

1 *επιcτρατ*^{η}

'To Quintus Sanquinius ...inius Maximus, epistrategus, from Eudaemon, (slave?) of Marcus Antonius Spendon collector. Among the men nominated to serve as sitologi in the Oxyrhynchite nome was listed by mistake instead of Belles son of Dionysius, financially sound and fit for the service, another man of the same name, Belles son of Patermuthis, unfit for the service and poor. Since they are both from the village of Tacona in the same Oxyrhynchite nome and since the patronymic was mixed up by mistake, as stated above, . . .'

1 [3–4].ινίωι. The traces appear to come from a crossbar; the best possibility is]τ̣ and]γ̣ is the next best, though perhaps κ̣, ς̣, and υ̣ are also possible. At base-line level on the edge before the gap there is a tiny and faint trace of ink; the wide spacing between the other words in this line suggests that it is accidental ink rather than part of a letter. There are at least twenty-eight known possible *nomina*: Arquinius, Asinius, Atinius, Avinius, Catinius, Clusinius, Corvinius, Cosinius, Cusinius, Fulcinius, Graecinius, Latinius, Licinius, Lisinius, Mescinius, Oclatinius, Ovinius, Prastinius, Rasinius, Reginius, Saevinius, Sicinius, Stertinius, Titinius, Tutinius, Vatinius, Verginius, Volcinius. This list is based on a cursory search of *PIR*² (A–L) and *PIR*¹ (M–Z) and is not likely to be complete.

2–3 The version given in the translation is not certain. A survey of the references to φορολόγος, and its cognates φορολογέω and φορολογία, given in WB and in S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*, shows that they are rare words and the passages cited are unhelpful. Some from the late Byzantine period clearly refer to private rent-collecting. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the words refer to tax-collection but the contexts are mostly vague. In PSI VII 792 φορολογία is used (in lines 7, 8, and 13; correct *Spoglio*) in connection with the transport of grain received by the state as tax and the delivery of it to the department of the *procurator ad Mercurium*, see XXXI **2567** 9 n.

Most relevant to our case, however, is the lately published P. Vindob. Tandem 9, where the issue of seed corn for A.D. 11/12 by a sitologus is authorized by the strategus, the royal scribe, and one Ϲ̣ιφί̣λ̣ου (reading uncertain) Χ̣ρηϲί̣μ̣ου Καί̣ϲ̣α̣ρ[ο]ϲ̣ φορωλώγου (19–20). The editors point out (20 n.) that in the related P. Lond. II 256(d) and (e)—pp. 95–8—a man called Φαῦϲτοϲ Πρίϲκου Καίϲαροϲ appears to perform the same function for A.D. 10/11 though his title is not specified. These persons are plausibly regarded as imperial slaves, but their nomenclature is odd, for though the translations call them respectively the sons of Chresimus and Priscus no slave or freedman ought to have an official filiation. However, the addition of Καίϲαροϲ makes it clear that they are in the imperial service, probably as slaves, cf. P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 48, so the solution may be to regard Chresimus and Priscus as the former owners from whose possession the slaves Siphilus (*sic*) and Faustus passed into the *familia Caesaris*. To this I can produce no good parallel, the nearest being the *agnomina* derived from the names of former owners and ending in *-ianus*, *-anus*, and *-inus*, see Weaver, op. cit., 212–26. If these men are indeed imperial slaves, M. Antonius Spendon may be an imperial freedman deriving his name from Mark Antony through, probably, one of the two daughters of Antony and Octavia, cf. M. Antonius Pallas, M. Antonius Felix. The juxtaposition of the names indicates that Eudaemon was Spendon's slave.

Other hypotheses, which appear less probable at the moment, might be that Spendon was a *publicanus* (concessionary of a farmed tax), see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, 97, s.vv. φορολογέω, φορολόγος, or that he was a soldier assigned to tax-collecting duties.

12 πατρωνύμου. This word is new in the papyri. Very possibly ὀνόματοϲ is to be supplied in the lacuna that follows it.

13 ...ειμηνυθ̣[. Articulate probably μηνυθ̣[, whether it alludes to information laid in the present document or not.

15 Above ἐπιδί[δ]ωμ[ι there are remains of about ten letters interlined. Very little has been read, viz.]..ι̣τ̣ο̣.....[, and it is not possible to say whether the word or words should have been inserted before or after ἐπιδί[δ]ωμ[ι.

3274. Petition

A 16/3(h) 24×20 cm. *c.* A.D. 99–117

The chief interest of this and the following item is the name of a procurator of the *idios logos*, Aulus(?) Prifernius Augurinus, who has previously appeared in P. Ryl. II 291 in the unrecognizable form]*Φερενίωι Ἀγ*..[, which can now be re-read from a photograph kindly supplied by the John Rylands Library and plausibly restored as *Πρ*]*ι-φερ*{*ε*}*νίωι Ἀγορ*[*ίνωι*, in spite of the poor spelling. In H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières* iii 1107 his name is given from P. Ryl 291 as Herenius Ag . . . (cf. *PIR*² iii 124, iv 71, H 101) and by an oversight he is listed as a *iuridicus*. This reference does not appear at all in the latest list of heads of the *idios logos*, P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, 127–8.

His exact date is hedged about with difficulties. Of **3274** it can be said that it is of the reign of Trajan and after some unspecified time in the third regnal year, A.D. 99/100 (18, 46). In **3275** the day is partly preserved, Payni 2(0–29) = 14–23 June, but the regnal year number is lost. One clue is offered by the name of the addressee, the strategus Apion who is otherwise known only from XXXVIII **2852** dated in 8 Trajan, A.D. 104/5, but this cannot be pressed too closely since Apion's neighbours in office are dated to 2 December, A.D. 99 (XLI **2958**) and A.D. 110/11 (XXXVI **2758** 1 n.). Augurinus' named neighbours in office are even further away on both sides, see P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 127. Trajan's victory title *Dacicus*, acquired at the end of A.D. 102 (*RE* Suppl. Bd. X col. 1069), shows that the earliest possible date for **3275** is 14–23 June, A.D. 103. The absence of *Optimus* on the other hand allows no limitation of the date, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 51–2.

The description of P. Ryl. II 291 says that the tenth year of Trajan or Hadrian is mentioned, which is based on line 9]*δεκάτου ἔτους Τραι*[*ανοῦ* . . . We can now be fairly confident that the emperor is Trajan, but since the papyrus is broken immediately on the left any year between the tenth and nineteenth might have stood here and we can even envisage the possibility of *τοῦ εἰσιόντος*] *δεκάτου ἔτους Τραι*[*ανοῦ κτλ.*, which would allow us to bring the range of dates to include Trajan's ninth year, A.D. 105/6.

This range of possible dates compels us to consider the fragment of the name of a holder of this office apparently functioning in 8 Trajan which survives in BGU IV 1033. 20. The first edition has]*μνου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ τῷ η* (*ἔτει*). Wilcken corrected this to]*λίνου* in *Archiv* 3 (1906) 505. A photograph supplied by Dr. W. Müller of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin shows that as well as]*λινου*, which is not compelling, we might read]*αινου* (cf. G. Plaumann, *Der Idioslogos*, 68),]*βινου*,]*κινου*, or]*μινου*. In my opinion, therefore, this is not Augurinus but a previous holder of the office.

The unusual names make it certain that there is some connection with the procurator of Achaea A. Pomponius C. f. Quirina Augurinus T. Prifernius Paetus, see H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières* i 167–8 (No. 72). This person had had a successful military career and was decorated by Trajan after a victory over the Getae, probably belonging

to the first Dacian war concluded in A.D. 102 since there is no specific mention that it was part of the second expedition (so Vollgraff, *BCH* 28 (1904) 426). Pflaum repeats Groag's argument that the absence of *Dacicus* from Trajan's titles in the Argive dedication to the procurator of Achaea indicates that he held the post already in A.D. 102, that is after the victorious conclusion of the first Dacian war but before the bestowal of the title at the end of the same year. The same argument appears also in *RE* xxii 2 col. 1967. Unfortunately the omission of Dacicus is a modern error beginning, as far as I can see, with *ILS* 8863; at any rate *Δακικοῦ* is in the first edition, *BCH* 28 (1904) 425, likewise in *AÉ* 1905. 6, and in R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officers of Trajan and Hadrian*, 9. This procuratorship, a centenarian post, is attested for some moment after Trajan acquired the title *Dacicus*. The charge of the *idios logos* was a ducenarian post which could well have been the next step in the same man's career, and I suggest that this is a likely hypothesis.

For the procurator of Achaea and other Prifernii of the same period see also *RE* xxii 2 coll. 1967–70, Suppl. Bd. xiv (1974) 484–5, and for another equestrian one see especially H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières* i 166–7 (No. 71).

This text is a petition to Augurinus from a lady about her dead brother's estate. Half of it was confiscated by Augurinus as a result of a case brought by an informer and she claims that she had paid out the equivalent to settle the deceased's debts. Another brother had apparently taken possession of the estate in any case. The damaged and lost portions at the foot would perhaps have given us more details.

The tops of two copies survive in a rubbed and broken state. They were glued together edge to edge after being written, as is shown by the fact that the initial letter of line 46 is partly under the left-hand sheet. The writing is probably all by the same hand, though there is a possibility that two scribes wrote one copy each and that the resemblance is due to the use of the same style of handwriting. I am unable to say why the duplicate copies were filed in this way or whether they are from official or private records. The back was used, after the join was made, for some sort of account, probably arranged by daily entries, though the damage is so very severe that it is difficult to say anything about it for certain.

i

Αὔλωι Πριφε]ρνίωι Αὐγουρίνῳ
c. 8 κα]ὶ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ
παρὰ c. 6]ίας τῆς Θέωνος
διὰ c. 7]c Διον[υc]ίου τοῦ
5 *Ἁρποκρατ]ί[ων]ος τῷ[ν ἀπ' Ὀ]ξυρύγχ(ων)*
πόλεως.] ἐ[κ] μηνύcεως Ἀ[μ-

5 o]ξυρυγ^χ

μωνίου Ἀ]μμωνίου κατηγόρου
ἐκρίθ]ηṇ ἐπὶ cοῦ τοῦ κυρίου περ[ὶ
ὑπαρχ]όντων Διδύμου ἀδελφοῦ
μου] ἀ̣ναιρεθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελ-
φοῦ] ἡμῶν Διονυτᾶτος καὶ ἔδο-
ξεν ἀν]α̣λαβεῖν τὴν ἡμίcιαν τῶν
ὑπαρχ]ό̣ṇτων τοῦ Διδύμου `ὑπὲρ ἧc διετέθη´ καὶ
ἐ]δ̣ήλωcά̣ c̣ο̣ι̣ τῷ εὐεργέτῃ `τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμίcιαν´ ἀποδε-
δωκέναι με ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρέα δα-
νιcταῖc καὶ ἀπε̣φ̣ή̣νω ἐπιδοῦναί
μ]έ cοι ἀναφόρ[ιον] περὶ τούτων,
ὧν] ἐcτιν τ[ὸ] κα[θ' ἕν.] τῷ μὲν τρίτῳ
ἔτει] Τραιανοῦ Κ̣[αίcαροc το]ῦ̣ κυρίου
ἀπέ]δ̣ω̣κ̣α̣ .[*c.* 12 letters].c κ̣ατὰ
c. 20 letters]ακοcίων
c. 23 letters].μαιω
c. 22 letters]ο̣.τρ̣υ
c. 22 letters] Πτολ̣λ̣ίω`ν´
c. 22 letters].αρτα
c. 30 letters]. Τραιανο.
c. 30 letters] Διονυcιο( )
c. 27 letters δρα]χμάc

. . . . .

12, 14 l. ἡμίcειαν 15–16 l. δανειcταῖc

ii

Α̣[ὔλωι Πρι]φερνίωι Αὐγουρείνω̣ι̣
δ̣[*c.* 8 letters]. καὶ πρὸc τῷ ἰδ̣ί̣ῳ̣
(vac.) [λόγῳ] (vac.)
π̣[αρὰ *c.* 4]τ̣ρίαc τῆc Θέωνοc διὰ
c. 8 letters] Δ̣ιονυcί̣[ο]υ̣ τοῦ Ἁρποκρα-
τίωνοc τῶ]ν̣ ἀπ' Ὀξυ̣[ρ]ύγχων π̣ό̣λ̣[εωc.
ἐ̣[κ] μηνύcεωc Ἀ[μ]μ̣ωνίου Ἀμμων[ίου
κατηγόρο̣υ̣ ἐ̣κ̣ρίθηṇ ἐπὶ cοῦ το̣[ῦ κυρίου
περὶ ὑπαρχόντων Διδύμου το̣[ῦ ἀδελ-

φοῦ μου ἀναιρεθέντω[ν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελ-
φοῦ ἡμῶν Διονυτᾶτος [καὶ ἔδοξεν
40 ἀναλαβε[ῖν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων τοῦ [Διδύμου καὶ ἐδήλω-
σά σοι τῷ εὐε[ργέτῃ ἀποδεδωκέναι με
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρέ[α δανεισταῖς καὶ ἀπε-
φήνω ἐπιδο[ῦναί μέ σοι ἀναφόριον
45 περὶ τούτω[ν ὧν ἐστιν τὸ καθ' ἕν.
τῷ μὲν γ (ἔτει) [Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
ἀπέδωκ[α *c.* 25 letters
ρογραφ.[*c.* 25 letters
καὶ το.[*c.* 25 letters

. . . . .

'To Aulus(?) Prifernius Augurinus the . . . and (procurator) in charge of the *idios logos*, from Demetria(?) daughter of Theon by agency of . . . son of Dionysius, grandson of Harpocration, inhabitant of the city of the Oxyrhynchi. As a result of information laid by Ammonius son of Ammonius, accuser, I was brought to trial before you, my lord, in a case concerning the property of Didymus my brother taken by our brother Dionytas and the decision was to confiscate the half of Didymus' property concerning which provision was made in his will and I informed you, my benefactor, that I had paid back the said half as debts to creditors on his behalf and you delivered judgement that I should submit a memorandum to you about these matters, of which the detailed story is as follows. In the third year of Trajan Caesar the lord I paid back . . .'

2 See 30 n.

3 See 32 n.

4 Possibly the text had διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρό]ς Δ. τοῦ Ἀ., 'by agency of her husband, D. son of H.', but for the purposes of the translation the other possibility has been preferred.

7 κατηγόρου. See *CÉ* 49 (1974) 145–6.

10 It is not quite clear what ἀναιρεθέντων means, but it seems that she is claiming that although she had settled the debts of her dead brother it was her other brother who actually took possession of the estate.

13–14 The interlineations in both lines come earlier than it seems possible to insert them, i.e. over -ων τοῦ Διδ- and over -λωσά σοι τῷ ε-. In the duplicate no trace of them survives, but they may have come in a more suitable position at the ends of lines 41–2.

22].μαιω. The first letter looks like]ρ; possibly this is a name 'Ε]ρμαίῳ.

23 Possibly the name Τρύ[φων occurred here.

24 The syllabification indicates that Πτολλίων is nominative.

26 Read probably Τραιανοῦ, as part of a date.

27 Διονυσιο( ). Cf. perhaps 4 and 33.

29 Ἀ[ύλωι. The trace is a clear diagonal descending to the right. The connection with the procurator of Achaea suggests that we should restore Ἀ[ύλωι rather than Ἀ[ππίωι, Ἀ[εκίμωι, Ἀ[ουκίωι. Usually the *praenomen* goes with a specific *nomen*. Since this man preferred Prifernius, which was probably his original *nomen*, to Pomponius, which was probably that of an adoptive father, he would be expected to retain Titus as well. It is clear, however, that the remains will not suit any part of Τ(ε)ίτωι. In spite of this difficulty of nomenclature, it seems more likely that the head of the *idios logos* is the same man as the procurator of Achaea than that he is another relative.

30 δ[*c.* 8 letters].. This is very puzzling. In spite of the isolated case of Norbanus Ptolemaeus, δικαιοδότης καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ in A.D. 63 (P. Fouad 21. 5), it is not usual to find a second post being

held by a procurator, and there seems to be no way of restoring here a formula with διέποντι or διαδεχομένῳ indicating a temporary administration, whether of this office or another. It is clear that **3275** gives Augurinus no additional office and fairly clear that P. Ryl. II 291 does not do so either. The final traces do not suggest, though they do not absolutely exclude, δ̣[ικαιοδοτ]ῇ or -δοτ]ῆι, and the same applies, of course, to δ̣[ιοικητ]ῇ, -ῆι. They consist of parts of an upright preceded by traces which would combine best to form a diagonal such as that of]ν. Alternatively, all the traces might be part of the right-hand half of]ω and this seems to offer less grammatical difficulty. An escape from the implication that Augurinus held two posts might be to read δ̣[ουκηναρί]ω̣. The objection to this is that the custom of advertising official salaries in the titulatures is first attested for the reign of Commodus, even though there are traces of an informal classification of posts by this criterion from the reign of Augustus, see *RE* v coll. 1752–3, s.v. *ducenarius*.

It is perhaps worth adding that the remains do not suggest ἀρχιερεῖ, cf. *CÉ* 49 (1974) 146–7, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 32–3, XLV **3263** 9–10 n.

32]τρίας. If the traces on the edge of the break are indeed of tau, no alternative to Δημη]τρίας is offered by F. Dornseiff–B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, 23.

41–2 See 13–14 n.

47–8 The end of line 20 suggests that κατὰ χει-]|[48]ρόγραφο̣[ν stood here, with χειρόγραφον at the beginning of line 21.

3275. Report of Priests

33 4B.84/K(6–9)a *c.* 7·5 × 12; 8·5 × 14 cm. 14–23 June, *c.* A.D. 103–117

The mention of Prifernius Augurinus, see **3274** introd., is the main point of interest in this text, which is a report from representatives of the priesthood of a village temple addressed to the governor of the district, who was apparently expected to pass on the information to the procurator in charge of the *idios logos*. The relations between the temples and the *idios logos* in this period are studied by P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, 83–96.

The sheet, which is blank on the back, has been broken across the middle and the damage in the neighbourhood of this break is so severe that very little of the detail of the report can be recovered and it is not known how much may be missing between the two fragments. Only one of the several tiny scraps which are entirely detached bears ink and on that only a single iota can be read with confidence.

The number of priests was reported, and this was preceded by amounts in grain and money, some of which look as if they record expenditure.

No exact parallel has been identified, though we may compare in a general way parts of P. Tebt. II 298 and VIII **1143–4**. For the standard type of report from priests, the γραφαὶ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ, which contained lists of priests by name and inventories of temple furniture, see E. H. Gilliam, 'The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis', in *YCS* 10 (1947) 181–281, esp. 191–8.

Ἀπίωνι στρ(ατηγῷ)
παρὰ Ὥρου Κεφάλωνος καὶ
Πανεσνέως Ὥρου ἀμφοτέρων

1 στρ̣

ἀπὸ κώμης Σεν̣οκώμεως
ἱερέων Ἄμμωνος θεοῦ με-
γίστου ἱεροῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν
τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ προκεχειρισ-
μένων ὑπὸ τῶν συνιερέων.
πρὸς τὴν γραφεῖσάν σοι ὑπὸ
Πρειφερν̣ί̣ου Ἀουγουρείνου
τοῦ κρατίστου πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ
λόγῳ ἐπιστο[λὴν π]ερὶ τοῦ κα-
τ' ἔτος αὐτ̣ῷ̣ [λ]όγον ἀκρει-
βῆ πεμφθ̣ῆ̣ν̣αι τῶν ὑπαρ̣-
χουσῶν τ̣[ο]ῖ̣ς ἱεροῖς ο[....
ἔτ̣ι̣ δὲ κ[αὶ τ]ῷ̣ α...ου[..
ν̣ω̣ν πρ[ος]φ̣ων̣[οῦμεν] ὑ[πο-
κεῖς̣θ̣αι [ἡ]μεῖν κ[αὶ το]ῖς συν̣-
ιερεῦσι .[.....]ργ[..... ἐν 'Ο]ξ̣υ̣-
ρύ̣γχων [.....].ς.[.....
...]...[.....]ιας̣[.....
c. 12 letters]ς̣κω̣[.....

. . . . .

. . . . .

.]...[
ἐξ ὧν ...[
.ι̣..... (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) .ι..[.].[
(πυροῦ ἀρτ.) α (ἡμισ.?) ξ.[.]η̣τη (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) (ἡμισ.?) [.].[
... τ̣ῶ̣ν̣ τ̣ε̣ς̣ς̣ά̣ρ̣ω̣ν̣ (ἡμισ.?)..[
ἱερεῦσι Θοήριδος (δραχμ.) .....
τ̣ῶ̣ν̣ τ̣ε̣ς̣ς̣ά̣ρ̣ω̣ν̣ (δραχμ.) κ̣β̣. γ̣ε̣ί̣ν̣ο̣ν̣-
ται (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ... χ(οίνικες) δ .....
αἳ ..( ) ἐκ (δραχμῶν) η̣ (ἀρτάβαι) ..χ
γείνονται (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιβ. ἐσμ̣[ὲν
δὲ τ̣ὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρε̣[ς ..
περιτετμ̣ημένοι [τῶν λει-

13–14 l. ἀκριβῆ

35 τουργούντων ἐπι̣[κεκριμέ-
νοι ἐπὶ (δραχμαῖς) λ. καὶ ὀ̣[μνύομεν
Αὐτοκράτορα Καί[σαρα Νέρουαν
Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸ[ν Γερμανικὸν
Δακικὸν μὴ ⟨ἐ⟩ψεῦσ[θαι ἢ ἔνο-
40 χοι εἴημεν τῷ ὅρ[κῳ. ἔτους (?)
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσ[αρος Νέρουα
Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Δακικοῦ, Παῦνι κ[(?). (m. 2) Ὥρος
Καιφάλωνος καὶ [Π]α̣[νεσ-
45 νέως Ὥρου ὠμωμόκαμε[ν
τὸν ὅρκον. Πλουτίων ἀ-
πελεύθερος Θέωνος ἔ-
γραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μ̣ὴ
εἰ]δ̣ότων γράμματα.

44 l. Κεφάλωνος 44–5 l. [Π]α̣[νεσ]νεύς, ὀμωμόκαμε[ν 49 l. εἰ]δ̣ότων

'To Apion, strategus, from Horus son of Cephalon and Panesneus son of Horus, both from the village of Senocomis, priests of the temple of Ammon, most great god, which is in the same village, appointed representatives by their fellow priests. In response to the letter written to you by Prifernius Augurinus, *vir egregius* in charge of the *idios logos*, concerning the dispatch to him annually of an accurate account of the properties(?) belonging to the temples and also of the . . . we report that we have had granted to us and our fellow priests . . . (in?) Oxyrhynchus . . .'

'. . . total 12 artabas of wheat. We are men to the number of . . ., circumcised, of the class of serving priests, examined (and approved to pay the εἰσκριτικόν) at 30 drachmas. And we swear by Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus that we have told no lies or may we be liable to the (penalty of our) oath. Year . . . of Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Payni 2(0–29). (2nd hand) We, Horus son of Cephalon and Panesneus son of Horus have sworn the oath. I, Plution, freedman of Theon, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

1 For the strategus see XXXVIII **2852**, dated to 8 Trajan, A.D. 104/5.

4–7 This temple of Ammon is new, see **3292** 9 n. for others in Oxyrhynchite villages.

15 Perhaps restore ο[ὑσιῶν, or, since space is short, ο[υσιῶ = ο[ὑσιῶ(ν) may have been written.

16–17 It is palaeographically attractive to read ἀ̣ν̣η̣λ̣ου[μέ]ν̣ων and expenditures may be recorded in lines 26 and 28, but ἀνηλόω is a very rare form of ἀναλίσκω, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, p. 66 § 61(2).

17–19 For the sense attributed to ὑποκεῖσθαι in the translation see *LSJ* s.v. ὑπόκειμαι II 7 b. If ἐ̣[λαιου]ρ̣γ[εῖον *vel sim.* is to be supplied in 19, it may be that it means that the priests hold a mortgage on an oil-factory or other real property which thus brings in an income, cf. ibid. 7 a. The same word is used in a similar document at P. Tebt. II 298. 52, but the passage is too damaged to be of any help.

26 ξ̣.[.]ητη. Comparing the dative in 28 and envisaging the possibility that this is an account of expenditure, see 16–17 n., we might guess ξυ̣[ρ]ητῇ, 'to the barber'. Since Egyptian priests wore the head shaved, this has some plausibility, but ξυρητής is known only from BGU II 630 verso 10, the common word being κουρεύς.

35–6 On the meaning of ἐπικεκριμένοι ἐπὶ (δρ.)λ see *YCS* 10 (1947) 203–4.

39 ⟨ἐ⟩ψεῦσ[θαι. Cf. XXXVI **2761** 13, XXXVIII **2855** 18; F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 319–20. In spite of VII **1028** 37 μὴ ψε(ύσασθαι) I can find no certain example of any tense but the perfect.

3276–3284. Applications for Epicrisis

46 5B.49/K(6)a–f and (7)a–d A.D. 148/9

These items are the better preserved examples of the remains of a *syncollesimon* or roll-file made up of applications for epicrisis glued together side by side. When all the remains are put together in a logical succession the lower edges, though broken, give the impression of a straight line, indicating that the bottom of the roll was torn away while it was still rolled up and has not been preserved with the top. It is noticeable that the items were of different heights and that the top edge of the roll was very uneven.

Each document has or had a number at the top and we seem to have remains of numbers 109 or 110 up to 121. These numbers all seem to be in the same hand, which may also have added the occasional annotations of district names.

3276 has a number at the top which might be either ρι (= 110) followed by an oblique stroke or ριᾳ (= 111). There are remains of the flanking numbers, 109 and 111, or 110 and 112. The first of these is too damaged to repay transcription; the second is **3277**.

3278 has the number ριγ = 113; it therefore follows the previous group either immediately or after a gap which contained one item, no. 112. On the right of **3278** (113) are traces in a hand which matches remains adhering on the left of **3279**, which should therefore be 115 (ριε).

3280 has the heading ρις (116), and though there is no join to **3279**, the last five items can be placed side by side on the evidence of overlap of text or fibres and their numeration is assured by the clear heading ρκ (120) at the top of **3283**. The damaged item falling between **3280** and **3281**, which must have been no. 117, has not been transcribed.

The format, as reconstructed, may be summed up in the following scheme:—

(109 or 110?)	110 or 111?	(111 or 112?)	113	(114)	(115)	116	(117)	(118)	119	120	(121)
om.	*3276*	*3277*	*3278*	om.	*3279*	*3280*	om.	*3281*	*3282*	*3283*	*3284*

The section of the roll from which the fragments came must have been about 110 cm. long, by very rough measurement. The greatest height preserved is *c.* 12·5 cm. (*3279*).

The epicrisis has been studied recently in *Acts of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrology*, 227–32, by Professor O. Montevecchi, who is preparing a re-edition of the texts relating to it. The new items are all concerned with entry to the gymnasial class as distinct from the metropolitan.

The chief novelty is an expanded version of a clause already known from X **1266** concerning admission to the gymnasial class of persons who had no ancestor in the list of the 34th year of Augustus. This special entry is dated to years 3 and 4 of Nero, A.D. 56/7 and 57/8, and the examining officer's name and rank are given in such a way as to clear up a confusion between him and a prefect of Egypt also called Paulinus, see **3279** 20 n.

3276

ρι̣. [..] (vac.) Ἄ[ν]ω Παρ[εμβολῆς
παρὰ Πετ[.....]ς Ἀπο[λ]λωνίου τ[οῦ] Πετεύριος
μητρὸς [.....]τῆς ....ου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεω[ς. κατὰ τ]ὰ κελευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίσεω[ς
5 τῶν π[ροσβαινόντ]ων εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμ[νασ]ίου
ἤ εἰσι τ[οῦ γένου]ς τού[το]υ ἐτάγη ὁ υ[ἱό]ς μου Ἀμμώνιος
μητρὸ]ς Ἡρᾶτος Ἀμόιτος [π]ρ[ο]σ[βε]βη̣κὼς εἰς (τρεισκαιδεκαετεῖς)
τῷ ἐ]νεστῶτι ιβ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνί[ν]ου [Κ]α̣ί̣ς̣[α]ρ[ος] τοῦ κυρίου.
ὅθεν] παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπίκρ[ι]σιν
10 δη̣λῶ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
ὑπ]ὸ Σουτ[ωρίου] Σωσιβίου στρ(ατηγήσαντος) καὶ Νικάνδρου γενομέ-
νο]υ β̣α̣[σιλ(ικοῦ) γρ](αμματέως) καὶ ὧν ἄλλ[ων] καθήκει ἐπίκρισιν
τῶν ἐκ τ]οῦ γυμνασίο[υ ἐπι]κεκρίσθαι τὸν πατέρα
μου ἐπ' ἀμ]φόδου Δρόμο[υ Γυ]μνασίου καθ' ἃς ἐπήνεγ-
15 κεν ἀποδ]ε̣ί̣ξ̣[εις] ὡς ὁ πάπ[πο]ς αὐτοῦ Εὐβίων Πτολλί-
ωνός ἐστιν] ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Καίσαρος γρ(αφῇ)
ἐμὲ δὲ προσβάντα] εἰς (τρεισκαιδεκαετεῖς) τῷ α (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
c. 20]̣.̣ταις ἀποδείξεσι
c. 25] τ̣ῆς μητρὸς
. . . . .
20 Back, downwards]̣νίου
] Ἄ̣νω Παρεμ(βολῆς)

6 l. εἰ 7 $\overline{\iota\gamma}$ϛ 8 ιβϛ 10 εϛ 11 στρϛ 12 β̣α̣[σι$^{\lambda}$ γρ]ϛ? 16 λδϛ, γρϛ 17 $\overline{\iota\gamma}$ϛ, αϛ 21 παρε$^{\mu}$

'No. 111(?). Upper Camp district.

'From Pet... son of Apollonius grandson of Peteyris mother . . . daughter of (Pyrrhus?), inhabitant of the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if they are of this stock, my son Ammonius, mother Heras daughter of Amois, was registered as having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the present twelfth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Therefore I have presented myself for his scrutiny and declare that in the scrutiny of the gymnasial class which took place in the fifth year of the deified Vespasian under Sutorius Sosibius then strategus and Nicander then royal scribe and the other proper persons my father was scrutinized in the Gymnasium Street district in accordance with the evidences which he presented that his grandfather Eubion son of Ptollion is in the list of the thirty-fourth year of the deified Caesar, and (I declare) that I on entering the class of thirteen-year-olds in the first year of the deified Trajan . . .'

1 Ἄ[ν]ω Παρ[εμβολῆς. Cf. 21, 3278 8. Perhaps Παρεμβολῆς was abbreviated as in 21, 3277 1. The number may be ρια̣ = 111 or ρι̣ʹ = 110, see Introd. If it is 111, no item is unrepresented between 110 and 121.

2 Perhaps restore *Πετ[εύριο]ς*, the grandfather's name, since names often recur in alternate generations, but other names are also possible, e.g. Petsiris, Peteësis.

3 The mother's patronymic may be *Π̣ύ̣ρρου*; *τηc* could be either the article *τῆς* or the end of her name.

8 12 Pius = A.D. 148/9.

10 5 Vespasian = A.D. 72/3.

16 34 Augustus = A.D. 4/5.

17 1 Trajan = 27 January–28 August, A.D. 98.

18–19 Restore something like *ἐπικεκρίcθαι ἐπὶ ταῖc α]ὐ̣ταῖc ἀποδείξεcι [ἀμφόδου τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (or *ἀμφόδου Ἄνω Παρεμβολῆς*) *καὶ τὸν] τῆς μητρὸς [τοῦ υἱοῦ μου πρόπαππον κτλ.*, cf. **3283** 16.

20 Probably this is the applicant's patronymic, *Ἀπολλω]ν̣ίου*, which would be preceded by his name.

3277

(vac.) [*Ἄ]ν̣ῳ Παρεμ(βολῆς)* [

παρὰ Δ̣ι̣[c. 10 *Πτ]ο[λ]εμαίου τοῦ Π̣[* c. 20

Π̣ετοcίρι[ος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων] πόλεως. κατὰ τ[ὰ κελευcθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίcεως

τ]ῶν πρ[οcβαινόντων εἰς τοὺς ἐκ] τ̣(οῦ) [γ]υμνασίου ᾗ [εἰcι τοῦ γένους τούτου

5 *ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἄνω Παρεμβολῆς ἐτάγ]η ὁ υἱός μο[υ* c. 20

..[.]..[c. 15 *προ]cβεβη[κὼς εἰς (τρειcκαιδεκαετεῖς) τῷ ἐνεcτῶτι*

ι̣β̣ [(ἔτει)] Ἀντ̣[ωνίνου Καίcαρ]ος τοῦ κυ[ρίου, ὅθεν παραγενόμενος

π]ρὸς τὴν τ[ούτου ἐπίκριcιν] δηλ(ῶ) κατ[ὰ τὴν γενομένην τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ

Οὐ]ε[c]παcι[ανοῦ ὑπὸ Cου]τ̣ορίου C[ωcιβίου cτρατηγήcαντος καὶ Νικάνδρου

10 *γ]ενομ̣ένου βαcιλικοῦ] γραμματ[έως* c. 20

.]..[.]...[c. 8 *τῶ]ν ἐκ τοῦ γυ[μνασίου* c. 15

c. 18].[.]. *Πτολ[* c. 20

. . . . .

4 *εκ]*; l. *εἴ* [8 *δηλ*

'[No. 112?] Upper Camp district.

'From Di . . . son of Ptolemaeus grandson of P . . . mother . . . daughter of Petosiris, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if they are of this stock, my son . . . mother . . . daughter of . . . was registered in the Upper Camp district as having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the present twelfth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Therefore I have presented myself for his scrutiny and declare that in the scrutiny of the gymnasial class which took place in the fifth year of the deified Vespasian under Sutorius Sosibius then strategus and Nicander then royal scribe . . .'

1 *Ἄ]ν̣ῳ*. The traces are indeterminate, but since the flanking items **3276** (*ρια̣?*) and **3278** (*ριγ*) are both from the Upper Camp district, *Ἄνω* seems preferable to the two other possibilities, *Ἱππέων* and *Λυκίων*. Before this a number, *ριβ* or *ρια*, see introd., is lost.

2 Restore *Δι̣[ονυcοδώρου, Δι̣[ονυcάμμωνος vel sim.*; after the grandfather's name, of which *Π̣[* is the beginning, supply *μητρός* followed by the mother's name. Petosiris, in 3, is her father.

3 The restoration at the end is standard but too long to have been written here in full; probably it was abbreviated, e.g. *επικ* = *ἐπικ(ρίσεως)* would suit. Cf. 4, 5 and nn., 8.

4 Apparently *εκ*]̣ = *ἐκ*] *τ(οῦ)* was written, cf. *δηλ(ῶ)* in 8. The beginning is also somewhat long; perhaps *προσβαινον*$^{\tau}$ was written.

5 *Παρεμβολῆς*: perhaps written *παρε*$^{\mu}$, cf. 1 and 3, 4 nn.

5–6 To fill the gap we need the son's name, his mother's name preceded by *μητρός*, and her father's name. Since the space is so long, perhaps one of the three had a double name.

9 *στρατηγήσαντος* was presumably abbreviated to *στρ*ϛ *vel sim.*

10–11 We expect here *καὶ ὧν ἄλλων καθήκει ἐπίκρισιν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, but this gives only 26 letters before *τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, which seems too little for the space available. The meagre traces at the beginning of 11 do not fit comfortably into the formula, though no letter there can be identified with certainty.

3278

ριγ

παρὰ Τερεντ[ί]ου Δι[ο]γένους τοῦ
Μικκάλου μητρὸς Θαήσιος Πος[ει-
δωνίου ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.
5 *κατὰ τὰ ⟨κε⟩λευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικ(ρίσεως) τῶ[ν*
προσβ(αινόντων) εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἤ ε[ἰ-
σι τοῦ [γ]ένους τούτου ⟨ἐτάγη⟩ ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
Ἄνω Παρ[ε]μβολῆς ὁ υἱός μου Ἀμόις
μητρὸς Θαήσιος Πτολεμαίου προσβ(εβηκὼς)
10 *εἰς (τρεισκαιδεκαετεῖς) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ιβ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου*
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ὅθεν παραγε-
νόμενος πρὸς τὴν τού[του] ἐπίκ(ριν)
δ[η]λῶ κατὰ τὴν γενομ⟨έν⟩η[ν τ]ῷ ε (ἔτει)
θεοῦ Οὐεσ(πασιανοῦ) ἐπίκ(ριν) ἐπικεκρίσθαι τὸν
15 *πατέρα{ν} μ(ου) Διογένην προσβ( ) Μικκά-*
λου υφ..[...]...[.].[.....]...

. . . . .

5 *επι*$^{\kappa}$ 6 *προσ*$^{\beta}$; *ἤ*, l. *εἴ* 9 *προ*$^{\beta}$ 10 *ιγ*ϛ, *ιβ*L 12 *επι*$^{\kappa}$ 13 *ε*ϛ 14 *ουεσ*)*επι*$^{\kappa}$ 15 *πατερανμ*, *προσ*$^{\beta}$

'No. 113.'

'From Terentius son of Diogenes grandson of Miccalus mother Thaesis daughter of Posidonius from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if they are of this stock, my son Amois mother Thaesis daughter of Ptolemaeus was registered in the Upper Camp district as having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the present twelfth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Therefore I have presented myself for his scrutiny and declare that in the scrutiny which took place in the fifth year of the deified Vespasian my father Diogenes, the elder(?), son of Miccalus, was scrutinized . . .'

13–14 It is noticeable that the names of the local officials conducting the scrutiny of 5 Vespasian are not mentioned here as they are in the other documents of this file.

15 In spite of the misleading circumstance that *προcβ( )* is used above (6, 9) for parts of *προcβαίνειν*, we should probably expand here to *προcβ(ύτερον)* = *πρεcβύτερον*, 'the elder', indicating that Diogenes was to be distinguished from a younger namesake. This is a common vulgar spelling of the word, see Mayser–Schmoll I i p. 45 lines 38–42 (§ 6, 5).

3279

ρι̣.[
παρὰ Παυcιρίωνο[c c. 10 τοῦ Ἀ-
περῶτος μητρὸς Διδ[ύ]μ[ηc ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
χων πόλεωc. κατὰ τὰ κελευ[cθέντα
5 περὶ ἐπικρίcεωc τῶν προcβα[ινόντων
εἰc τοὺc ἐκ τοῦ γυμνacίου ἢ εἰc[ι τοῦ γένουc
τ]ούτου ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἱππέ[ων Παρεμ-
β[ο]λῆc ὁ υἱόc μου Cαραπίων μη[τρὸc c. 5
ριοc Πανεχῶ[το]υ προcβεβηκ[ὼc εἰc (τρειcκαιδεκαετεῖc)
10 τῷ ἐνεcτῶτι ιβ (ἔτει) Ἀντων[ίνου Καίcαροc
τοῦ κυρίου. ὅθεν παραγενόμ[ενοc εἰc τὴν
τούτου ἐπίκριcιν δηλῶ κατὰ [τὴν γενομέ-
νην τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Οὐεcπαcιαν[οῦ ὑπὸ Coυτω-
ρίου Cωcιβ[ί]ου cτρατηγήcαντοc [καὶ Νικάνδρου
15 γενομένου βαcιλικοῦ γραμμ[ατέωc καὶ
ὧν ἄλλων καθήκει ἐπ[ί]κριcιν [ἐπικεκρίcθαι
τὸν πάππον μου Ἀπερῶτα Απε[c. 12
ωνοc ἐν ὑπερετέcι ἐπὶ τοῦ α[ὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου
ἐν εἴδει τῶν τῷ γ (ἔτει) καὶ δ (ἔτει) Ν[έρωνοc ὑπὸ
20 Κουρτίου Παυλείνου χειλιάρ[χου ἐπικε-
κριμένων καὶ τὸν [π]α[τ]έρα [μου προc-
βάντα γεγενῆcθαι ἐν ταῖc ....[c. 2 τοῦ γυ-
μνacίου γραφαῖc ἀμφόδου τοῦ [αὐτοῦ c. 2
....[....].[.].[.....]..[.....].[c. 7

6 l. εἴ 10 ιβL 13 εL 19 γL, δL

'No. 115.

'From Paysirion son of . . . grandson of Aperos mother Didyme from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if

they are of this stock, my son Sarapion mother ...ris daughter of Panechotes was registered in the Cavalry Camp district as having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the present twelfth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Therefore I have presented myself for his scrutiny and declare that in the scrutiny which took place in the fifth year of the deified Vespasian under Sutorius Sosibius then strategus and Nicander then royal scribe and the other proper persons my grandfather Aperos (son of Aperos grandson of ...ion?) was scrutinized among those over age in the same district in the category of those scrutinized in the third and fourth year of Nero by Curtius Paulinus military tribune and (I declare) that my father entered and took his place in the (subsequent?) lists of the gymnasium in the same district. . . .'

1 ρι̣.[. This item must be no. 115, ριε, because adhering to its left edge are remains of a document in the same hand as that on the remains which adhere to the right of **3278**, which is no. 113, ριγ. The traces just before the break are mostly below the line; probably the explanation is that only part of the traces belong to ε, while below there is either stray ink or part of an annotation of the district name. We should perhaps print two lines, i.e.

1 ρι̣ε̣[
1a .[

but since for 1a Ἰ[ππέων Παρεμβολῆς, cf. 7–8, looks unsatisfactory, I am inclined to think that the remains are stray ink.

17 It looks as if the patronymic of this Aperos was the same, i.e. Ἀπε[ρῶτος, followed by τοῦ and then by the grandfather's name, which must have been a short one with a vowel before the omega, e.g. Ἀπί]ωνος, Ὡρί]ωνος.

18 The applicant's grandfather was scrutinized 'among those over age', which makes it clear that these words refer to the person scrutinized and not to the person applying to have him scrutinized, as was supposed in XII **1452** 44–56, 51 nn. The wording there is [ἀκολ(ούθως)] αἷς—οἷς ed. pr., but a photo shows the expected αἷς—ὁ πατ(ὴρ) αὐτοῦ ἐν ὑπ(ερ)(ετέσιν)—υ)L pap.—ἐπήνεγ[κ(εν)] ἀποδείξε(σιν).

Usually ὑπερετής means 'beyond the age of liability to poll-tax', that is, in the sixties, see *Archiv* 3 (1904–6) 232–3. In these cases, however, it seems better to suppose that it means 'beyond the normal age for scrutiny', that is, 'over thirteen'. Note that each of these cases relates to an important and anomalous stage in the development of the gymnasial scrutiny, the new one to A.D. 56–8, that in **1452** to the enrolment of A.D. 72/3, see next note.

20 Κουρτίου Παυλείνου. The *nomen* is clear to read and the passage removes a difficulty from the list of prefects. This is the person mentioned in a similar connection in X **1266** 25, where the *nomen* was read by Grenfell and Hunt as Κ̣α̣υ̣ν̣τίου and by C. H. Roberts as Καυνείου (*JRS* 44 (1954) 116–19, cf. *BASP* 4(1967) 84). The papyrus, now Bodleian MS. gr. class. d. 119 (P), has been inspected and does in fact have Κ̣ο̣υ̣ρ̣τίου.

The passage of **1266**, less precise than this one, seemed to be dated to 5 Vespasian = A.D. 72/3; consequently Paulinus was wrongly taken to be identical with the Παυλῖνος διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν in Josephus *BJ* vii 10, 4. Now **3279** not only reveals his true *nomen* as Curtius but shows that he was a military tribune active in 3 and 4 Nero, i.e. A.D. 56/7 and 57/8. The tribune Paulinus who interviewed Josephus in A.D. 67 (*BJ* iii 8, 1) could perhaps have been our Curtius Paulinus, but, far more important, the way is now open to accepting the identification of the prefect Paulinus with the Valerius Paulinus described in *PIR*[1] iii p. 373 (V 105), cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières*, i p. 94, No. 40. P. Strasb. 541 refers in a damaged context to a prefect with the *nomen* Valerius in the reign of Vespasian. The regnal year number is lost and so is the prefect's *cognomen*. Very possibly we should restore the *cognomen* as Paulinus.

It should be noted that we have now no fixed date in the prefecture of Paulinus. Josephus tells us that he succeeded on the death of Ti. Julius Lupus, last known in office some time in 5 Vespasian = A.D. 72/3, cf. XXXVI **2757** i 2.

The words διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, used by Josephus to describe Paulinus, would in a document mean quite precisely 'then acting prefect'. In Josephus they may mean something less precise, 'the successor to the prefecture', but since Lupus died in office there is some suggestion that they should be taken in the narrower sense. The titulature in P. Strasb. 541 indicates that the Valerius there was a prefect in his own right, but it would be possible that Valerius Paulinus should have had his appointment as acting prefect confirmed by promotion to full prefect.

Information from this document has been used in *JRS* 65 (1975) 143 (no. 28 a), 183 (§ vi), and a similar document from the Michigan collection has allowed similar conclusions, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Flavius Josephus and the Prefect of Egypt in 73 A.D.*, forthcoming in *Historia*.

The new dates of 3 and 4 Nero make it worth while retracing the important stages in the history of the gymnasial epicrisis. All the applications that are complete enough to check make a statement about the scrutiny of 5 Vespasian = A.D. 72/3. Clearly this was a date of some special significance; perhaps an effort was made to compile a complete record in that year. In all but three instances the claim is made that the person scrutinized in A.D. 72/3 passed the scrutiny by proving that an ancestor's name was to be found in the list of 34 Augustus = A.D. 4/5, which date also, therefore, marks an important stage in the institution of gymnasial epicrisis, the earliest known to us and very possibly the initial one.

In the three exceptional cases the persons passed the scrutiny of A.D. 72/3 because of the admission of the applicant or an ancestor to the gymnasial class by Curtius Paulinus, who was active, as we now learn, in A.D. 56/7 and 57/8.

It appears, therefore, that most members of the gymnasial class after A.D. 72/3 derived their right from an ancestor approved in A.D. 4/5, some derived it from one approved in A.D. 56/7 or 57/8, and all had their right finally established by a review held in A.D. 72/3. See now also *BASP* 13 (1976) 182–5.

20–1 ἐπικε]κριμένων. This is restored in accordance with the reading of X **1266** 25, though in the note there the first editors suspected that εἰσκεκριμένων should be read. However, there is no real analogy with P. Flor. I 57. 73, which they cite, and ἐπικρίνειν seems to be the word which is appropriate to this context.

22 At the end μετ̣.[is possible. This would imply something like ἐν ταῖς μετὰ [ταῦτα (or τοῦτο) τοῦ γυ]μνασίου γραφαῖς, cf. **3283** 18, but the space available should accommodate only about seven letters as the most, to judge from neighbouring lines. It is, of course, common to find writing particularly cramped at the ends of lines, so that a long supplement remains possible, though unattractive.

3280

ρις̣

παρὰ Πνεφερῶτος Ἡρᾶτος τοῦ Πνεφ[ερῶτος
μητ(ρὸς) Θατρῆτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρ(ύγχων) πόλ(εως). κατὰ τὰ κ[ελευ-
σθέντ(α) περὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβα[ινόντων
5 εἰς τοὺς] ἐκ [τ]οῦ γυ[μν]ασίου ἢ εἰσι τ[οῦ]

. . . . .

3 μητ, οξυρ¯πο̄ 3–4 κ[ελευ]σθεντ 5 l. εἴ

'No. 116.

'From Pnepheros son of Heras grandson of Pnepheros mother Thatres from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders about scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if they are of . . .'

(The remains of no. 117, identified by a fragment of 118 (**3281**) adhering to its right side, are too fragmentary to repay transcription.)

3281

ρι[η]
παρὰ Διονυcίου Διον[υcίου τοῦ] καὶ Ἀμόι Διονυ-
cίου μητρὸc Ἀρcινόη[c Cαρα]πίωνοc ἀπ' Ὀ-
ξυρύγχων πόλεω[c. κατ]ὰ τὰ κελ[ε]υcθέν-
5 τα περὶ ἐπικρίcεωc [τῶν] προcβαινόντ(ων) εἰc
το]ὺc ἐ[κ το]ῦ γυμ(νασίου) ε̣[ἴ ε]ἰ̣[cι το]ῦ̣ [γ]έ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣[c τ]ο̣ύ̣τ̣[ο]υ̣

. . . . .

5 προcβαινον$^{\tau}$ 6 γυ$^{\mu}$

'No. 118.

'From Dionysius son of Dionysius alias Amois grandson of Dionysius mother Arsinoe daughter of Sarapion from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if they are of this stock . . .'

2 Ἀμόι. On short Egyptian genitives such as this see XLIII **3102** 5 n.

3282

[ριθ]
παρὰ Cαραπ[ί]ωνοc Ἁρ[ποκρατίω]νοc τοῦ
Cαραπίωνοc μητρ[ὸc Δη]μητρίαc
τ[ῆ]c καὶ Ἀcκλαταρίου Ἡρακλείδου ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ̣(εωc).
5 κατὰ τὰ κελευcθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίcεωc
τ[ῶ]ν προcβαινόντων εἰc (τρειcκαιδεκαετεῖc) εἰ ἐξ ἀμ-
φοτέρων γονέων εἰcὶ τάγματοc ἀπὸ
γυμνασίου ἐτάγη`ν´ ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Δεκά-
τηc προ[c]βεβηκὼc εἰc (τρειcκαιδεκαετεῖc) ἔτ[ει
10 ιβϛ θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ. ὅθεν παραγ[ενόμε-
νοc πρὸc [τ]ὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπίκ[ριcιν
δηλῶ τὸν πάππον μου Cαραπίω[να
Ἁρποκρατίωνοc ἐπικεκρίcθαι [τῇ γε-
νομένῃ τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Οὐεcπαcια[νοῦ
15 ὑπὸ Cουτωρίου Cωcιβίου cτρατηγή(cαντοc)
καὶ Νικάνδρου γενομένου βαcι[λ]ικοῦ

. . . . .

4 οξ'πο$^{\lambda}$ 6, 9 $\overline{\iota\gamma\varsigma}$ 10 ιβϛ 14 εϛ 15 cτρατηγ$^{\eta}$

'[No. 119].

'From Sarapion son of Harpocration grandson of Sarapion mother Demetria alias Asclatarion daughter of Heracleides from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning

scrutiny of those entering the class of thirteen-year-olds (to discover) if they are born of parents both of the category of the gymnasial class, I was registered in the Tenth district as having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the twelfth year of the deified Hadrian. Therefore I have presented myself for my own scrutiny and declare that my grandfather Sarapion son of Harpocration was scrutinized in the [scrutiny] which took place in the fifth year of the deified Vespasian under Sutorius Sosibius then strategus and Nicander then royal scribe. . . .'

6–8 *εἰ . . . ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.* This is a more specific equivalent of *εἴ εἰσι τοῦ γένους τούτου.* Apparently it has not occurred before in connection with gymnasial epicrisis, but cf. VIII **1109**, X **1306**, PSI X 1109, 10, all relating to the metropolitan epicrisis.

9–10 The applicant was thirteen years old in 12 Hadrian = A.D. 127/8 and therefore aged thirty-four at the date of the document, presumably 12 Pius = A.D. 148/9, like the other items in the roll. For late epicrisis in unusual circumstances see *CÉ* 31 (1956) 109–17.

3283

ρκ

παρ[ὰ] Θέωνος Θέων[ο]ς τοῦ Θέωνος μητρὸς
Διογ]ενοῦτος Διονυσίου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων π[ό]λ[ε]ως.
κατ]ὰ ̀τ̣ὰ́ κελευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβαινόν-
5 των εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου εἴ εἰσι τοῦ γένους τού-
του ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἱππέων Παρεμβολ(ῆς) ὁ υἱός μου
Π]αυσῖρις μητρὸς Θαήσιος Διδύμου γεγονὼς (τρεισκαιδεκαετὴς) τῷ
δ̣ι̣ε̣λ̣θ̣(όντι) ια (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ὅθεν παρα-
γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπίκρισιν δηλῶ κατὰ τ[ὴ]ν
10 γενομένην τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Οὐεσ(πασιανοῦ) ὑπὸ Σουτωρίου Σωσιβί[ου
στρατηγή(σαντος) καὶ Νικάνδρου γενο(μένου) βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) καὶ ὧν
ἄλλων καθήκ(ει) ⟨ἐπίκρισιν⟩
ἐπικεκρίσθαι τὸν πάππον μου Θέωνα Ἀμμω(νίου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)
Πα]μμένους Παραδ(είσου) ἀκολούθ(ως) αἷς ἐπήνεγκεν ἀποδείξεσι
ὡ[ς] ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Θέων Ἀμμω(νίου) ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους)
15 θεοῦ Καίσαρος γραφῇ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου Θέωνα προ[σ-
βάντα ἐπικεκρίσθαι τῷ ια (ἔτει) Δομιτιανοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς προκ(ειμέναις)
ἀποδείξεσι ἀμφόδ(ου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐμὲ δὲ προσβάντα γεγονέναι
ἐν ταῖς τοῦ γυμνασίου γραφαῖς ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Παμμένο[υς
Παραδ(είσου) καὶ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ μου πρόπαππον
20 c. 35].[c. 3

. . . . .

4 τω of τῶν corr. from πρ 6 παρεμβο^{λ} 7 $\overline{ιγ\varsigma}$ 8 δ̣ι̣ε̣λ̣^{θ}̣ιαϛ 10 εϛ, ουεσ) 11 στρατηγ^{η}, γενōβασ^{λ}ιγρϛ, καθη^{κ} 12 αμμ^{ω}, αμφο^{δ} 13 παρα^{δ}ακολου^{θ} 14 αμμ^{ω}, λδϛ 16 ιαϛ, προ^{κ} 17 αμφο^{δ} 18 αμφο^{δ}τουā 19 παρα^{δ}

'No. 120.

'From Theon son of Theon grandson of Theon mother Diogenous daughter of Dionysius from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders concerning scrutiny of those entering the gymnasial class (to discover) if they are of this stock, my son Paysiris mother Thaesis daughter of Didymus was registered in the Cavalry Camp district as having reached the age of thirteen in the past eleventh year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Therefore I have presented myself for his scrutiny and declare that in the ⟨scrutiny⟩ which took place in the fifth year of the deified Vespasian under Sutorius Sosibius then strategus and Nicander then royal scribe and the other proper persons my grandfather Theon son of Ammonius was scrutinized in the Pammenes' Garden district in accordance with the evidences which he presented that his grandfather Theon son of Ammonius is in the list of the thirty-fourth year of the deified Caesar, and (I declare) that my father Theon entered and was scrutinized in the eleventh year of Domitian on the aforesaid evidences in the same district, and that I entered and took my place in the gymnasium lists in the same Pammenes' Garden district, and that the great-grandfather of the mother of my son. . . .'

11 ⟨*ἐπίκρισιν*⟩. This is the minimum required to supply the sense, cf. e.g. **3278** 14, and is usually all that is present. One document has *ἐπίκρισιν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου* at this point, **3276** 12–13; **3277** 10–11 had something similar but apparently longer.

16 11 Domitian = A.D. 91/2.

3284

[ρκα

π̣[αρ]ὰ Κα̣λ̣λίου̣ .[.]..[*c.* 15].....[*c.* 30

νι̣ο̣ς̣ ἀπὸ η.[.]....[*c.* 15].....[*c.* 12].[*c.* 10 τῷ τοῦ

νομοῦ βασιλ(ικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Σερήνῳ τῷ [κ]α̣ὶ Σαραπίωνι ὑπὸ .[.....].νο...[.].[.].[*c.* 8 πε-

5 ρὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἀποδεῖξαι ἐνθά[δ]ε ὡς̣ ἔστιν ὁ ἀδελφός μου Ἁρθοῶν̣ι̣ς̣ .[*c.* 10

γένους τάγματος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερήνου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίω(νος)

ἔ]χ̣ων ἐπιστάλματα ἐξετάσαι πε̣ρ̣ὶ̣ τ̣[ο]ύ̣τ̣ου δηλῶ αὐτὸν προσβεβηκέναι

εἰς (τρεισκαιδεκαετεῖς) τῷ *c.* 10 (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίν]ο̣υ̣ Κ̣[α]ίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν

c. 50]..

. . . . .

4 βασὶ γρ∫ 6 ἐκ corr. from ἀπό; σαραπι^{ω}

'No. 121?

'From Callias . . . from . . . (to?) the royal scribe of the nome Serenus alias Sarapion by . . . concerning the necessity of proving here that my brother Harthoönis is in the category of the gymnasial class by descent(?), and having received official instructions from Serenus alias Sarapion to make inquiry concerning him I declare that he entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the current twelfth (*or* past *n*th) year of Antoninus Caesar the lord and that he is . . .'

3–4 After ἀπό it might be possible to read Ἡλ̣[ίο]υ̣ π̣ό̣λ̣[εως. The name of Heracleopolis cannot be read, nor can any other possibility that has been thought of. It is not even certain that a place-name is required here, though it looks likely.

In the absence of a parallel it is not possible to say exactly what is happening here, though it is clear that the case was not quite routine. The fact that Callias applies on behalf of his brother probably means that the father was dead and his death may have occasioned the neglect of some proper procedure.

The pattern may have been something like κατὰ τὰ γραφέντα (or ἐκ βιβλιδίων ἐπιδοθέντων) . . . τῷ . . . βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος . . . δηλῶ, 'in accordance with what was written to (or 'as a

result of a petition submitted to') the royal scribe by so-and-so . . . I declare'. The royal scribe was very probably one of the board to which these applications were addressed, cf. XII **1452** of A.D. 127/8, addressed to the strategus, royal scribe, and 'other proper persons'.

On the royal scribe Serenus alias Sarapion see XLI **2961** 11–12 n.

5 The trace at the end of the line suggests the loop of a large alpha coming well below the line. If the rest was on the same scale ἀ[πὸ τοῦ is probably enough to complete the line, though about ten letters have been crammed into the same space in line 6.

8 For the restoration cf. e.g. **3276** 7–8. The ending of the imperial titulature indicates that the current reign is mentioned and before τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ιβ (ἔτει)—or διελθόντι nth (ἔτει)—there is not room for more than εἰς ιγ∫.

3285. Legal Code

23 3B.3/H(4–5)c — 8·5 × 14 cm. (fr. 1), 7 × 14 cm. (fr. 2) — Second half of the second century A.D.

For the moment the chief interest of the text from which these fragments come is the surprise of its mere existence. It was a Greek version, written down in the second half of the second century A.D., of a legal code which has survived in part in a famous demotic papyrus of the third century B.C., lately published as G. Mattha, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West* (IFAO, Bibliothèque d'Étude xlv, Le Caire, 1975).

Until the experts in juridical papyrology have discussed the subject and agreed, only very tentative suggestions can be made about the implications of the existence of this copy. A basis for the discussion might be the hypothesis put forward here that **3285** and the demotic document represent what is referred to in Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period as the νόμος τῆς χώρας and in Roman papyri as the νόμος (or νόμοι) τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. The suggestion that the two are the same or equivalent was made by Professor H. J. Wolff, *ZRG* 70 (1953) 43–4. There is a convenient discussion of this and other views by Professor J. Modrzejewski in *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology*, 331–4, where it is pointed out that Roman judges were not bound by this codification but delivered judgements sometimes accepting it and sometimes in disagreement with it.

It is clear enough from the references to the νόμος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων that it did in the Roman period form a basis on which people founded their actions and that Roman judges were accustomed to take advice from experts (νομικοί) on questions relating to it, see XLII **3015** and perhaps XXXVI **2757**. P. Tebt. II 488 refers to it in connection with building in a way which very well could, though there is no absolute certainty that it does, relate to the regulations about illegal construction in fragment 1 of this papyrus, which are the equivalent of col. vi 3–11 of the demotic document.

The hypothesis, therefore, seems to explain why the provisions set down in demotic in the third century B.C. should be worth preserving in a Greek version in the second century A.D. If it is correct, this Greek version is probably the descendant of a translation made in the early Ptolemaic period.

The circumstances of the compilation of the code can only be guessed at. It is

recorded that Darius I ordered his satrap to have Egyptian scholars make a compilation of Egyptian laws in Aramaic and demotic, the first obviously in the *lingua franca* of the Persian empire for the use of the officials of the occupying forces (W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik*, 30–1). Later the occupying Greeks would soon feel the need of a similar version of their own and may even have taken the code of Darius as a basis. I owe both the reference and the tentative suggestion to Professor G. R. Hughes, to whom I am also very grateful for much information from the demotic code given in advance of Mattha's posthumous book, which he revised for publication and furnished with additional notes and a glossary. Passages of translation from the demotic marked (GRH) are cited from a new version kindly supplied by Professor Hughes.

I must also acknowledge here a great debt to Dr. W. J. Tait, who removed some misunderstandings arising from my ignorance of demotic from a draft of this edition and made many helpful suggestions.

The remains written along the fibres on the backs of the fragments are very much damaged and are in difficult documentary hands. Consequently the nature of the texts has not been determined, but it is clear that on the back of fr. 2 there are two hands both different from the one on the back of fr. 1. The code may have been written on the back of a roll file of related documents (*τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*), or a roll may have been made up out of used pieces of papyrus specially to take the code.

A useful date is given in fr. 2 back 10, which reads:]. (*ἔτους*) *ιγ̅ Αὐτοκ(ράτορος) Καίσαρος Τίτ(ου) Αἰλ(ίου) Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀ[ντωνίνου*; the abbreviations are in the forms L, *αυτοᵏ, τιᵀ, αιˡ*.

Regnal year 13 Pius is equivalent to A.D. 149/50. This is therefore the earliest possible year for the writing of the code, since it is clear that the code was written on the back of a roll made up of these documents. The ill-written documents look as if they were ephemeral and likely to be regarded as waste paper not very long after this date, so it will probably be safe to assign this copy of the code to the period A.D. 150–200, which also suits the handwriting.

The regulations are written in a careful documentary hand across the fibres. A top margin of *c.* 2 cm. is preserved on fr. 1, which contains lines 1–23, and, although the top of fr. 2 is more damaged, there was clearly a space there which was probably again part of a top margin. From the demotic text a very rough calculation can be made which shows that fr. 2 is not likely to come from the column succeeding that of fr. 1, but was probably separated from it by anything from two to seven columns. The calculation is as follows:

1–23 = M(attha) vi 3–11; 25–46 = M. viii 14–22, i.e. 18 demotic lines = 45 Greek.

Between M. vi 11 and M. viii 14 there are about sixty-six demotic lines. If 18 demotic = 45 Greek,

$$\text{then 66 demotic} = \frac{45 \times 66}{18} = \frac{2970}{18}$$
$$= 165 \text{ Greek.}$$

If 24, the first line of fr. 2, is the top of the column succeeding fr. 1, the height of fr. 1's column is $23+165 = 188$ lines, which is absurdly high and virtually impossible.

If one column of text of x lines is missing, $2x = 188$, $x = 94$ lines.

If two columns are missing, $3x = 188$, $x = c.$ 63 lines;
if three columns are missing, $4x = 188$, $x = 47$ lines;
if four columns are missing, $5x = 188$, $x = c.$ 38 lines;
if five columns are missing, $6x = 188$, $x = c.$ 31 lines;
if six columns are missing, $7x = 188$, $x = c.$ 27 lines;
if seven columns are missing, $8x = 188$, $x = c.$ 23 lines.

Since we can see that the columns were at least 23 lines high in both fragments, seven columns missing is the absolute maximum possible number. There is no way of ascertaining which of these formats is the correct one. A column of about ninety lines is not outside the bounds of possibility, cf. C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, No. 15 c, with 87–89 lines to the column, but it is not very likely, because it would in this hand require a very tall roll of *c.* 55 cm. Among the other possibilities there is nothing to choose. Anything from two to seven columns missing would produce a reasonable format.

The calculation necessarily assumes that the Greek followed the demotic text fairly closely. This is an assumption which such Greek text as survives appears to justify, but it does remain possible that there were discrepancies even greater than those which can be observed in fragment 1.

It is also tentatively assumed that the Greek comes from a complete text or at least from a continuous text of a substantial portion of the code. Even if what we possess is an excerpt or excerpts, the implication is strong that the code existed in a complete Greek text.

fr. 1

τὸν κ]αὶ τόν, πατρὸς τοῦ καὶ τοῦ, κατῳκοδομη̣[κέναι ψιλόν τι οἰ-
κόπ]ε̣δ̣ο̣ν, τοῦτο δὲ φῇ̣ α̣ὑ̣τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πατρ[ὸς αὑτοῦ, ὃς
ἐών]η̣τ̣α̣ι̣ αὐτὸ κατὰ συνγραφήν, ὁ δὲ καταβοη[θεὶς φῇ ὡς τοῦτο
αὑ]τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὑτοῦ καὶ ἠγορακέ[ναι κατὰ συγγρα-
5 φή]ν, ἐπερωτῶσι οἱ δικασταὶ τὸν καταβοη[θέντα εἰ ἀξιοῖ
αὐτὸς ἐπι]δεῖξαι ὡς εἶ̣ν̣α̣ι τὸ οἰκόπεδον αὑ[τοῦ καὶ τοῦ πα-
τρός, ὃς] ἐ̣ώνηται αὐτὸ κατὰ συνγραφήν, [ἢ τὸν καταβο-
ήσαντα] καθάπερ προγέγραπται. ὡς ἂν τ[ῷ καταβοηθέντι
δοκῇ ἐπιχ]ωρε̣ῖ̣τ̣α̣ι̣ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιδείξαντο[ς *c.* 12–14 letters
10 ....].....[.]..ν̣γρ̣α̣.[..].ι αὐτῷ ὁ καταβοηθείς̣ [*c.* 11–15 letters
ἐὰν δ]ὲ ὁ καταβοηθ̣ε̣ὶ̣ς ὁ̣μολογήσας ἐπιδείξει[ν μὴ ἐπιδείξῃ, συγ-

3, 7 l. συγγραφήν

χωρεῖ]ται ἡ οἰκία τῷ καταβοήσαντι καὶ γράφετ[αι αὐτῷ ὁ καταβο-
ηθε]ὶς συγγραφὴν ἀποστασίου. [
ἐὰν δ]ὲ ὁ ἡσσηθεὶς βούληται καθελεῖν τὴν οἰκ[ίαν ἣν αὐτὸς ᾠ-
15 κοδό]μησε ἐν τῷ οἰκοπέδῳ καὶ ἀπενέγκας[θαι τὰ οἰκοδομηθέ-
ντα,] ἐπιχωρεῖται αὐτῷ λύειν αὐτὸν ἀπε[νεγκάμενον τὰ
οἰκ]οδομηθέντα. (vac.) [
ἐὰν] δὲ ὁ καταβοηθεὶς ἀξιώσῃ τὸ[ν] καταβ[οήσαντα ἐπιδεῖ-
ξα]ι ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκόπεδ[ο]ν, προς[τάσσουσι αὐτῷ οἱ
20 δι]κασταὶ ἐπιδει[κνύ]ναι, κἂν [ἐ]πιδε[ί]ξ[ῃ, συγχωρεῖται αὐ-
τ]ῷ ἡ οἰκία. (vac.) [
ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κ]αταβοηθ[εὶς
.....].α συνχ[

. . . . .

fr. 2

..] τοιχο.. {ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τύχῃ ἡ οἰκία} (vac.) [
25 ἐὰν] δὲ μὴ τύχῃ 'ἡ' οἰκία οὖσα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐν ᾗ ο[ἱ δικας-
ταὶ] διατρείβουσι, ἐπιδεικνύναι δεῖ τοὺς κρεινομέν[ους πε-
ρὶ] τοῦ τοίχου καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν γέγραπτα[ι.
ἐά]ν δέ τις καταβοήσῃ κατά τινος περὶ ῥύμης, φάμ[ενος αὐ-
τὴν] εἶναι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας, ὁ δὲ καταβοηθεὶς φῇ ὡς τ[αύτην εἶ-
30 ναι] τὴν ῥύμην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας, τοὺς τοιούτους διακ[ρίνεσθαι
δεῖ] κατὰ τὰ ἄνω γεγραμμένα. (vac.) [
ἐά]ν δέ τις καταβοήσῃ κατά τινος, φάμενος τὴν χολέ[δραν
τῆς] οἰκίας τοῦ ἀντιδίκου καταρραίνειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ο[ἰκίαν
τῷ] ἀπορρέοντι ὕδατι, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισκ[οποῦσι
35 οἱ] δικασταὶ ἐνχέοντες ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν χολέτρ[αν. ἐὰν δέ
τι] ῥαίνῃ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ καταβοήσαντος, ἀπ[οτέμνου-
σι] ἀπὸ τῆς χολέτρας ἕως ἂν μηκέτι ῥαίνῃ. [
ἐά]ν δέ τις καταβοήσῃ κατά τινος, φάμενος αὐ[τὸν τὴν
θύ]ραν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἀνεῳχέναι εἰς τ[ὸ αὐτοῦ οἰκό-
40 πε]δον, ἐὰν μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ ἀ[νέῳ-
χε] τὴν θύραν ἴδιον οἰκόπ[ε]δον ὑπάρχον τῷ{ν} ἀντ[ιδί-

13 l. συγγραφήν 15 ἐν: ε corr. from ν 20 l. καί, ἐὰν ἐπιδείξῃ, κτλ. 26 l. διατρίβουσι, κρινομέν[ους 35 l. ἐγχέοντες, χολέδρ[αν 37 l. χολέδρας

κ]ῳ, ἀναγκάζεται ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὴν θύραν ἣν ἀ[νέῳχε.
ἐ]ὰν δέ τις καταβοήςῃ κατά τινος, φάμενος αὐτὸν [ὑπο-
ρύ]ξαι ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν καὶ ποιῆςαι αὐτὴν [πεςεῖ-
45 ν,] προςτάςςεται τῷ καταβοηθέντ[ι ὀ]μόςαι τῷ κατ[αβοήςα-
ν]τι εἰ μὴν ὅτι οὐ πονηρεύεςθα[ι π]ρὸς τὸ πεςε[ῖν

. . . . .

('If a man raises an outcry against another, alleging) that So-and-so, whose father is So-and-so, has built upon a vacant plot and says that this belongs to him and to his father, who bought it according to contract, and the man complained against says that this belongs to him and to his father and that he bought it according to contract, the judges ask the man complained against if he wishes to prove himself that the plot belongs to him and to his father, who bought it according to contract, or the plaintiff (to prove) as written above. It is granted to the man complained against (to proceed) as he likes and . . .'

'If the man complained against agrees to give proof and does not do it, the house is granted to the plaintiff and the person complained against writes a contract of withdrawal for him.'

'If the defeated party wishes to dismantle the house which he himself built on the plot and carry away the construction, it is permitted to him to purge himself(?) by carrying away the construction.'

'If the man complained against requires the plaintiff to give proof that the plot belongs to him, the judges order him to give proof and, if he gives it, the house is granted to him.'

'If the man complained against . . .'

'. . . wall. If the house does not happen . . .'

'If the house does not happen to be in the same city as the judges, the persons seeking judgement must present their evidence about the wall in accordance with what has been written in the section on houses.'

'If a man raises an outcry against another concerning an access, alleging that it belongs to his own house, and the man complained against says that this is the access to his house, such persons must have their dispute settled in accordance with what has been written above.'

'If a man raises an outcry against another, alleging that the gutter of his antagonist's house splashes his own house with the water that flows from it, in such cases the judges make a test by pouring water into the gutter. If it splashes the house of the plaintiff at all, they cut off sections from the gutter until it no longer splashes.'

'If a man raises an outcry against another, alleging that he has opened the door from his own house on to his (the plaintiff's) ground, if there be not found in this place in which he has opened the door private ground belonging to the antagonist, he is compelled to wall up the door which he has opened.'

'If a man raises an outcry against another, alleging that he dug beneath his house and caused it to fall, it is enjoined upon the man complained against to swear an oath to the plaintiff that he is truly not acting maliciously to cause the collapse . . .'

1–21 These lines are equivalent to Mattha vi 3–11. The order of sections is not the same, i.e. Mattha vi 1–7 = 1–9, M. vi 7–8 = 11–13, M. vi 8–10 = 18–21, M. vi 10–11 = 14–17. There are difficulties in matching 9–10 to the demotic, and there are other discrepancies in detail. The chief difference, however, is that the Greek makes use of indirect speech, a construction which does not exist in demotic, wherever it is appropriate.

2 *αὐτοῦ*. Cf. 4, 6 etc., but *ἑαυτοῦ* in 29, 33, and 39. The form *αὑτοῦ* had disappeared from the papyri by the first century B.C., according to Mayser, *Grammatik*[1], i § 69. 5 (p. 305); the weakening of the aspirate made it indistinguishable from *αὐτοῦ*, ibid. n. 1, cf. § 45 (p. 199), ii 2, § 66 b (pp. 71–3). Very likely the forms *αὑτοῦ* and *αὑτόν* (16, if correct) go back to a version of the early Ptolemaic period.

2–3 *ὃς ἐών]ηται αὐτὸ κατὰ συνγραφήν*. Cf. 4–5 and especially 6–7. In the same and a similar context the demotic has 'he wrote for me concerning it' (M. vi 4: GRH) and 'he was written for regarding it' (M. vi 6: GRH), which seem to refer to a deed by which the fathers confer title on their sons rather than to the deeds of purchase by which they acquired it.

The restoration at the end of 2 is rather short, nine letters instead of the usual eleven to fifteen letters, but 6–7 seems to be a good parallel and probably the text here was not longer. The traces do not suit *ἡγορακ*]*ένα*ι, so it is not possible to use 4–5 as the model for the restoration here.

4 *καὶ ἡγορακέ*[*ναι κατὰ συγγραφή*]*ν*. The demotic apparently has no space for an equivalent at this point. Cf. 7 n.

5 The *δικασταί* can have no relevance to the real procedure under Roman rule. Obviously the Roman procurators used the regulations as a guide line only.

For the restoration of *ἀξιοῖ*, cf. *ἀξιώσῃ* (18) in a passage answering to this one. The demotic has 'if it happens that you have worthiness' (M. vi 9), previously interpreted as 'if you are able', see Mattha, op. cit., p. 104 n. line 9, but it looks rather as if the Egyptian expression meant 'think fit' and had a derivation similar to that of *ἀξιοῦν* from *ἄξιος*. However, it should be noted that *ἀξιώσῃ* in 18 does not correspond to the same demotic phrase—the demotic in that place (vi 8) has simply, 'If the man against whom action is brought says to the judges, "Let him who brings action against me prove" etc.' So the basis of the interpretation of the demotic suggested here is not strong. Note also, however, that the Greek text will hardly adapt itself to the sense 'if he is able', e.g. *εἰ δύναται αὐτός* or *εἰ ἔξεστι αὐτῷ*, because this requires the use of a different verb for the second half of the sentence and space seems too limited to allow one.

7 *ὃς*] *ἐώνηται αὐτὸ κατὰ συγγραφήν*. At this point the demotic (M. vi 5) has again apparently no space for an equivalent, cf. 4 n.

7–8 [*ἢ τὸν καταβοήσαντα*] *καθάπερ προγέγραπται*. It is clear that the last two words are intended to save writing out again *ἐπιδεῖξαι ὡς . . . συγγραφήν* as in 6–7, which in the indirect speech of the Greek would have been word for word the same. The ellipse is very abrupt. It would be more comfortable if we could restore *ἐπιδεῖξαι* before *καθάπερ προγέγραπται*, as I have felt obliged to add '(to prove)' in the translation, but the space does not allow it, and no better form of words has been discovered.

Dr. Tait informs me that harsh ellipses, sometimes by a method rather like the English use of 'ditto', are not uncommon in demotic. He cites *OMRO* 44 (1963) 14 n. *b.*, *Enchoria* 2 (1972) 33–6, and *P. dem. Zen.* 22 ii 12 *et al.* (Tafel 10). Some such demotic usage may be reflected in the Greek text here.

9 *ἐπιχ*]*ωρεῖται*. Cf. 16.

9–10 There appears to be no demotic equivalent to this passage, though there is a short lacuna (M. vi 7). No really satisfactory reconstruction of the Greek text has been achieved. The only hypothesis which I can put forward must assume that *καταβοηθείς* in 10 is a mistake for *καταβοήσας*. This is a very dangerous assumption, but it can be pointed out in extenuation that the demotic in M. vi 7 has 'to the one against whom complaint is made' (GRH) when the sense requires 'to the one who complains', as is also confirmed by the Greek, *τῷ καταβοήσαντι* (12).

The hypothesis depends on an analysis of the clauses in both demotic and Greek. Both documents prescribe that the judges are to ask the defendant whether he chooses to have the case depend on the proof of title which he himself advances or on the proof of title presented by the plaintiff. After this the eventualities considered in the clauses of the demotic may be summarized and tabulated as follows:

1. The defendant chooses to give proof of title and fails (M. vi 7–8).
2. The plaintiff is required to give proof of title and succeeds (M. vi 8–11).
3. The plaintiff is required to give proof of title and fails (M. vi 11).

It is very plain that one important eventuality is not considered, namely, what happens if the defendant chooses to give proof of title and succeeds.

The Greek may be summarized as follows:

I. Uncertain (9–10).
II. The defendant chooses to give proof of title and fails (11–17).
III. The plaintiff is required to give proof of title and succeeds (18–21).
IV. Uncertain (22–3).

The order of eventualities is not the same, and if I is in fact a separate eventuality, even though it is not framed in a conditional sentence in the same way as the others, the Greek contains one more eventuality. It would be satisfactory if the uncertain clauses I and IV could represent the demotic eventuality 3 and the missing eventuality of the defendant choosing to give proof of title and succeeding.

The only way I have found of restoring the text in this way involves the correction of the text mentioned above, viz:

I (Missing from the demotic?).

ὡς ἂν τ[ῷ καταβοηθέντι
δοκῇ ἐπιχ]ωρεῖτ̣α̣ι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιδείξαντο[ς ὡς ἔστιν αὐ-
10 *τοῦ τὸ] ο̣ἰ̣κ̣ό̣π̣[ε]δ̣ο̣ν γρ̣ά̣φ̣[ετ]α̣ι αὐτῷ ὁ καταβοηθεὶς (sic l. καταβοήσας) [περὶ ἀποστασίου.*

'it is granted [to the man complained against (to proceed)] as [he likes] and on his giving proof [that the] plot [is his] the plaintiff writes for him [in relinquishment].'

For *περὶ ἀποστασίου* cf. 13, but it is perhaps slightly too long. An alternative might be simply *ἀποστασίου*, cf. P. Grenf. I 11 ii 19 *καὶ ἀποστασίου ἐγράψατο τῶι Πανᾶι.*

Moreover, if IV is to equal 3, it is very difficult to account for *κ]αταβοηθ[εὶς* in 22. So little remains that some escape might probably be found, but I have been forced to make the same emendation again, viz:

22 *ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κ]αταβοηθ[εὶς (sic l. καταβοήσας) ἀξιωθεὶς ἐπιδεικνύναι μὴ ἐπιδεί-*
ξῃ, ἡ οἰκ]ί̣α̣ συνχ[ωρεῖται τῷ καταβοηθέντι.

'If the plaintiff on being required to give proof does not give proof, the house is conceded to the man complained against.'

If the analysis is basically correct, the Greek text seems to have a more logical order. First it considers what happens if the defendant chooses to prove title himself and divides the clauses according to his success or failure. Then it considers what happens if the defendant requires the plaintiff to prove title and divides the clauses according to the success or failure of the plaintiff.

Nevertheless, we can perhaps retain the advantage gained from the analysis and yet escape from the disadvantage of being forced to emend the text in 22. It was pointed out to me by Dr. Tait that the provision that the builder may, if he chooses, remove his construction instead of ceding it to the landowner (14–17), occupies a different place in the demotic. Its position in the Greek is logical, for it follows and accompanies the eventuality that the builder agrees to give proof of title and fails. In the demotic its position is also logical, but it follows and accompanies the eventuality that the landowner chooses to give proof of title and succeeds (M. vi 10). Now this suggests that the demotic should have had this provision twice and that the Greek may indeed have it twice, the second version beginning in 22, viz.:

ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κ]αταβοηθ[εὶς βούληται ἀπενέγκασθαι τὰ ᾠκοδο-
μημέ]ν̣α̣, συνχ[ωρεῖται κτλ. on the lines of 16–17.

In this version, besides some abridgement of the first version, we would have *κ]αταβοηθ[εὶς* for *ἡσσηθεὶς* (14), *ᾠκοδομημέ]ν̣α̣* instead of *οἰκ]οδομηθέντα* (15?, 17), and *συνχ[ωρεῖται* instead of *ἐπιχωρεῖται* (16). Still, this result seems more satisfactory than emending *κ]αταβοηθ[εὶς* to *καταβοήσας.* To retain the analysis of the clauses of the Greek given above, all we have to do is to attach lines 22–3 to clause III and assume that clause IV, the equivalent of the demotic eventuality 3, came after the point where the Greek text breaks off.

There is still, obviously, considerable room for doubt about the relationship between the Greek and the demotic and about the reasons for the differences.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the Greek of 5–10 could be restored to be consistent with itself but contrary in sense to the demotic, i.e. read and restore in 5 *καταβοή[σαντα* not *καταβοη[θέντα*, in 7–8 *καταβοηθέντα* not *-ήσαντα*, in 8 *καταβοήσαντι* not *-ηθέντι.* The sense would then be, '. . . the judges ask the *plaintiff* if he wishes himself to give proof that the ground belongs to him and his father, who bought it by contract, or (if he wishes) the *defendant* (to give proof) as before. Whatever the *plaintiff* decides is conceded to him and if he gives proof that the ground belongs to him, the *defendant* writes for him in relinquishment.'

However, this is clearly only an accident of the state of preservation of the Greek. Besides the evidence of the demotic, the Greek itself in 18–19, *ἐὰν] δὲ ὁ καταβοηθεὶς ἀξιώσῃ τὸ[ν] καταβ[οήσαντα ἐπιδεῖξα]ι, κτλ.*, shows that the choice of procedure is given to the defendant.

13 The right arm of the final hypsilon is prolonged as a thin horizontal, acting as a filler sign, running across all the unwritten papyrus at the end of the line.

14–17 On the position of this clause see p. 36 para. 5.

In Mattha, op. cit., 105 n. line 10, Professor Hughes concluded that the demotic equivalent of *τὰ οἰκοδομηθέντα* referred primarily to the woodwork, but *καθελεῖν τὴν οἰκ̣[ίαν* indicates that complete removal of all the building materials belonging to the offender was envisaged. The intention, presumably, was that the site should be returned to its original condition as far as possible and that the owner should suffer no disadvantage from the trespass.

16 *λύειν α̣ὐ̣τ̣ό̣ν̣*. On *α̣ὐ̣τ̣ό̣ν̣* cf. 2 n. In spite of considerable damage to *α̣ὐ̣τ̣ό̣ν̣* each letter seems to have left characteristic traces. In particular it would not be possible to read *αὐτήν* (= *τὴν οἰκίαν*), which would give a much easier sense, 'it is permitted to him to demolish it and carry away (read *ἀπε[νεγκαμένῳ*) the building materials'. If *λύειν α̣ὐ̣τ̣ό̣ν̣* is correct, it seems to mean that he atones for the offence of building on someone else's ground by clearing the site. Perhaps we should emend to *αὐτήν*.

20 *κἂν̣ [ἐ]πιδε̣[ί]ξ̣[η̣*. In spite of some damage it seems certain that *κἄν* was written, where we would write *καί, ἐάν*. Cf. Mayser–Schmoll, *Grammatik* I i § 30. 2 (p. 137). Of the references given there the relevant ones are P. Cair. Zen. II 59236. 4–5, III 59440. 10, P. Tebt. III (i) 780. 20, UPZ I 2. 27; 70. 11; 110. 133, 176, II 218 i 24; 224 iii 3. For the Roman period cf. e.g. P. Achmim 8. 15–17 of A.D. 197.

21 The demotic (M. vi 9–10) has a longer version, 'If he gives proof, they shall award [the house to him (and) they shall require that his ad]versary [write for him] in relinquishment' (GRH). The written relinquishment is mentioned in the Greek at 10, probably, and 13. The first is apparently not in the demotic, the second is.

22–3 See 9–10 n. for attempts to recognize the sense of this passage. The theta of *κ]α̣ταβοηθ[είς* is certain.

24 ..]*τ̣οιχο*.. It is not possible to recognize this for certain as part of the same provisions as the demotic.

Evidently the scribe wrote the next six words before deciding that they ought to begin a separate section on a new line, see 25. No attempt to cancel the false start can be seen, but the damage to the top edge may have removed some indication of omission or cancellation.

25–46 These lines are equivalent to M. viii 14–22 and the deviations are minor compared with those in fragment 1.

27 *καθά̣περ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν γέγραπτα[ι*. This is more specific than the demotic: 'If it happens that it is not in the town in which the judges are that the house is, giving proof regarding the wall is what shall be done in accord with the rule for giving proof which shall be applied' (GRH). For the procedure to be followed in giving proof the Greek appears to refer to an earlier section relating to houses.

29–30 The demotic has no equivalent for *ὁ δὲ καταβοηθείς . . . τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας*.

32 *χολέ̣[δραν*. The word is new in the papyri. The restoration follows the orthography of *LSJ* even though the papyrus has *χολέτρα* twice below (35, 37) and may well have had the same here. For the phonetic confusion of δ and τ see Mayser–Schmoll I i § 33. 3a (pp. 146–7).

The basic meaning appears to be 'groove' or 'channel', e.g. Eratosth. *ap.* Eutoc. *in Archim.* p. 94 H. *πινακίσκοι ἐπωστοὶ ἐν χολέδραις*, 'movable plates in grooves'. The same open shape is implied by Apollod. *Poliorcet.* 182, 7 *κάμαξ . . . ἐκκεκολαμμένος κοιλάσματι ἡμικυκλίου χολέδρας τὸ σχῆμα*, 'a rod . . . with a hollow gouged out in the shape of a semi-circular channel'. Another passage seems to apply the word to a decorative finial on the outflow pipe from the basin of a fountain, Horap. 1, 21 *τὰς χολέδρας καὶ τοὺς εἰσαγωγεῖς τῶν ἱερῶν κρηνῶν λεοντομόρφους κατεσκεύασαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάται*, 'the masters of the temple works in ancient times fashioned the outflows and inflows of the sacred fountains in the shape of lions.' See below for gargoyles in the same shape.

For this context, however, the most promising reference is Hesych. s.v. *χολέρα* (which it seems essential to emend to *χολέ⟨δ⟩ρα*)· *σωλὴν δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράμων φέρεται ἐξακοντιζόμενον*, 'a channel along which water is carried from the (roof-)tiles and discharged'. The final Greek word graphically describes the function of the gutter—to throw the rainwater well away from the wall of the house. The trouble arises if it throws the water on to a neighbour's wall.

Unfortunately, comparatively little is known of Egyptian domestic architecture, and the upper parts of old buildings are the least likely to survive. However, a certain amount is known of roof drainage systems from the temples. Cf. A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, 242 (of Karnak): 'There was a system of water drains on the roof with three gargoyles on each side of the temple'; 358 (of Medinet Habu): 'Adequate provision for the drainage of rainwater'—from the roof—'featured

large waterspouts in the shape of the forepart of a lion projecting at the top of the external faces.' Cf. also J.-L. de Cénival, *Living Architecture: Egyptian*, 139–40, G. Jéquier, *Les éléments de l'architecture* (*Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*), 55–6.

The demotic expression has a 'wood'-determinative, see Mattha, op. cit. 112–13, suggesting that Egyptian gutters were customarily made of wood.

37 After the last word there is the beginning of a horizontal which was probably a filler sign, cf. 13 n.

40 ἐν ᾧ. The traces are very meagre. It may be that we ought to prefer to read ε̣ἰ̣[c ὅ]ν, which is what is suggested by 39–40, εἰς τ[ό . . . οἰκόπε]δον.

3286. Petition to the Town Council

48 5B.28/A(1)a 9·5 × 8·5 cm. A.D. 222/3

An early attestation of the process of nomination (ὀνομαcία) in the town council is given here, the next earliest dating from A.D. 247, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 98–9. The writer, who had previously served as gymnasiarch, was nominated again to that office on the same day on which he submitted this petition protesting that it was beyond his ability and appealing to the prefect.

The prytanis has been attested in office for A.D. 222/3, see 2 n., and the prefect Aedinius Julianus had a short term lasting from summer or autumn A.D. 222 to summer A.D. 223, see 12 n., so the year of this document is guaranteed to be A.D. 222/3.

A diagonal line begins in the left margin opposite line 7 and runs into the middle of the top margin. Also in the top margin is a trace of a very much shorter diagonal above and to the left of the first and parallel to it. The longer line might have been the beginning of a cancellation by chiasm, cf. P. Mich. XI 613 and Pl. III, but if so the process was never finished and it is a process usually adopted to nullify contracts.

On the back are the top 11 lines of a very much damaged document addressed to Flavius Harpocration, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, already attested by XII **1433** (September/October, A.D. 238) and XLIII **3133** (25 January, A.D. 239). The sender is a former gymnasiarch and mentions of the town council, appeal, and petition to an unnamed epistrategus suggest that it concerns another case of contested nomination. The hand is different from that on the front.

'Οξυρυγχειτῶν τῇ κρατίcτῃ βουλῇ
διὰ Μ[ά]ρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου
γυμνακιάρχου ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεωc
παρὰ Μά[ρ]κου Α[ὐρ]ηλίου Νεπωτιανοῦ
5 *υ[ἱοῦ Αὐρη]λίου Δ̣ιονυcάμμωνο[c*
γυμνακιαρχήcαν̣τοc τῆc αὐτῆc π[ό]λ̣ε̣ωc.
πρὸc τ[ὴ]ν γενομένην τῇ ἐνεcτώ-

ϲῃ ἡμ[έ]ρᾳ ἐν τῇ α[ὐτ]όθι κρατίϲτῃ βο[υλῇ
ὀν[ο]μαϲίαν μου ὡϲ εἰϲ γυμνασι[αρχίαν
10 καὶ οὐκ ἀ[ν]αλογῶν πρὸϲ τὴν τηλ[ι]κα[ύ-
την ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλούμενοϲ τὸ[ν λ]α[μ-
πρότατον ἡγεμόνα Αἰδείνιον Ἰ[ο]υλι[ανόν
. . . . .

12 ἰ[ο]υλι[

'To the excellent council of the Oxyrhynchites by agency of Marcus Aurelius Ammonius, gymnasiarch, prytanis in office, from Marcus Aurelius Nepotianus son of Aurelius Dionysammon, former gymnasiarch of the same city. With reference to my nomination to the gymnasiarchy made the present day in the excellent council of the same place, since I am not equal to so great a magistracy, calling to my aid the most glorious prefect Aedinius Julianus . . .'

2 The *praenomen* of the prytanis is new but not surprising. His titles are as in I **77** of 19 May, A.D. 223, cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, 28 no. 273, A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 131.

4–5 Nepotianus does not appear in P. J. Sijpesteijn, op. cit.; neither Nepotianus nor Dionysammon appears in the index of A. K. Bowman, op. cit.

12 For this prefect see J. Modrzejewski, *Les préfets d'Égypte au début du règne d'Alexandre Sévère* (in *Antidoron M. David = Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XVII), 62–3, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 308–9.

The last two syllables of his name belonged probably to the next line.

3287. Application for Payment

29 4B.45/G(1–2)b 8 × 17 cm. 27 March–25 April, A.D. 238?

This document is addressed to Geminius Valerianus, ὁ κράτιϲτοϲ ἐπίτροποϲ, known also from VIII **1114** 5, and described in CPR V 4. 12–13 as head of the *idios logos*, cf. also XLIII **3103** introd. He is the last holder of the post whose name is known to us and I have suggested in XLV **3263** introd. and in CPR V 4. 12–13 n. that his department may have been abolished during the financial reforms of Philip the Arabian.

The applicant is described as φρο(ντιϲτὴϲ) Φοβώου, which probably means that he was the steward of property administered by the *idios logos* in the neighbourhood of that village and he applies for an additional allowance of 700 drachmas to be spent on agricultural work on land described as ἐδάφη ἰδιόϲ(πορα). Probably this means that the estate was worked by tenant farmers under the supervision of the steward, as was normal in Egypt, see *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley, 45. See P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 111–19, for the functions of the *idios logos* as administrator of government property.

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Γεμεινίῳ Οὐαλεριανῷ τῷ κρ(ατίστῳ) ἐπιτρό(πῳ)
διὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἡρ̣α̣κλείδου καὶ
Χαιρή(μονος) ἀμφο(τέρων) βουλ(ευτῶν) τῆς λαμ(προτάτης) πόλ(εως) τῶν
Ἀλεξ(ανδρέων) τῶν ἀξιολ(ογωτάτων) (vac.)
5 *παρὰ Αὐρη̣λ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ Π̣τ̣ολλᾶ φρο(ντιστοῦ)*
Φοβώου. αἰτο̣ῦ̣μαι ἐ̣π̣ισταλ(ῆναι)
καὶ νῦν εἰς κοπὴ̣ν̣ . . . ιγην
καὶ [ς]υλλογὴν χόρτου τῶν ἰδιος(πόρων)
ἐδαφῶν ἀπὸ κλήρου . . . . εως
10 *ἄλλας δραχμὰς ἑπτακοσίας, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ψ,*
ὧν λόγον δώσω. (vac.)
(ἔτους) δ″ Φαρμο̣ῦ̣θι. (vac.)
(vac.) (m. 2) *Αὐρή(λιος) Θέων σεσημ̣(είωμαι).*

1 κρϛ επιτρο) 3 χαιρῆαμφ°βοῦ, λαμϛπο̂ 4 αλεξ′, αξιο̂ 5 φρο̄ 6 ε̣π̣ιστα 8 ιδιος) 10 γϛψ 12 Lδ″ 13 αυρη′, σεση̣μ

'To Geminius Valerianus, the most excellent *procurator*, through Aurelius Heracleides and Aurelius Chaeremon, both councillors of the most glorious city of the Alexandrians, most worthy gentlemen, from Aurelius Ptollas, steward of Phoboou. I beg to have paid to me immediately towards cutting . . . and gathering fodder on privately sown lands from the allotment of . . . another seven hundred drachmas, total 700 dr., of which I shall render account. Year 4, Pharmuthi. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Theon, signed.'

2–4 It is not clear whether these intermediaries were acting as bankers and would have advanced the money themselves or whether they were agents of the *idios logos* who would have authorized a payment from a state bank.

7 . . . ιγ̣ην. The only reading I can think of is ὀ̣λ̣{λ̣}ίγ̣ην, which is thoroughly unsatisfactory. Preferable would be another noun parallel with κοπή̣ν̣ and [ς]υλλογήν, preceded by καί. The traces represented by the first two dots end in a descender, which suggests that καί, rapidly written, is a possibility. For γ̣, ς̣ is a less attractive possible reading.

8 On χόρτος see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 211–18, esp. 216–17 on the harvest.

9 . . . . εως. At first sight this looks as if it ought to be identifiable with the κλῆρος Τοκέως in XII **1534** 3, but a photograph of that document seems to show rather Ϲ̣π̣οκέως; see *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 200, 202; cf. perhaps the man of Thracian origin called Ϲποκῆς who had connections with the Oxyrhynchite village of Mermertha in the mid third century B.C. (P. Sorb. 17, cf. F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen*, p. 324 No. 1368). Here, however, though the letter before -εως is an undamaged κ or β, the first letter begins with an upright topped by a crossbar which extends back to the left (tau is best, pi possible) and there are probably two damaged letters between it and κ or β.

12 Year 4 is probably of the reign of Maximinus and Maximus, A.D. 237/8, the year following the date of VIII **1114**, where Valerianus also appears. The 4th year next preceding, 4 Severus Alexander = A.D. 224/5, is clearly too far away; the next following, 4 Gordian, A.D. 240/1, is possible but not so likely as A.D. 237/8.

13 It is not clear what Aurelius Theon was. He might have been assistant to the steward. Perhaps more likely he was an official or clerk who countersigned the application.

3288. Petition

38 3B.82/G(1)b 9×10·5 cm. A.D. 252/3

This is a fragment from near the foot of a petition concerning a dispute about the boundaries of agricultural land, cf. e.g. P. Petaus 24, and, for the law, R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* ii 395–6, *Law*[2] 254–5. The petitioner had previously taken his case to the dioecetes, who had issued an order instructing the recipient of this petition to survey the land and determine the boundaries.

The name of the dioecetes, Septimius Apollonius, and the date allow a misunderstanding to be cleared away. He has appeared also in P. Théad. 14. 18–19 and is there described as *κοσμήσας τὴν διοίκησιν*, which means that at the date of that reference he was out of office. P. Théad. 14 is assigned to the fourth century A.D. by the first editor, to the third century by V. Martin in *Archiv* 6 (1913) 170 n. 3 (followed by G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell'Arsinoites*, 58), and to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth by J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 82 n. 9. To judge from a photograph a date inside the third century would be quite acceptable, though it is not impossible that proceedings before a procurator could still be worth citing half a century later. Whatever the date of P. Théad. 14 may be, the new document makes it clear that the Septimius Serenius Apollonius, *ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων*, who acknowledged the return of a loan in A.D. 333, see XIV **1716**, cannot be identified with the dioecetes, as tentatively suggested by Lallemand, op. cit. 90 n. 4, 262. On the other hand it may very well be that the *κράτιστος Ἀπολλώνιος* in SB VI 9387. 11 is the same man, since he receives a petition relating to an *οὐσία*.

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. . . . .
Ἀδύμου κληρ̣[..].[.].[.....
μόνας δὲ γεωργῶ (ἀρούρας) γ.
νῦν δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου διοικητοῦ
Σεπτιμίου Ἀπολλωνίου
5 *κελεύσαντός σοι καταπατῆσαι*
καὶ παραδῶναι ἑκάστῳ τὴν
ἰδίαν κτῆσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτό σε
ἀξιῶ τὴν παράδοσίν μοι ποι-
ήσ̣ῃ τῆς (ἀρούρης) α, ὅπως δυνη-
10 *θῶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων δημόσια*
εἰσενεγκεῖν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμ̣είῳ.
(ἔτους) γ' Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων

2 ϒγ 6 l. *παραδοῦναι* 7 *ἴδιαν* 9 ϒα 11 *ἱερωτατω* 12 Lγ'

Γαΐου Οὐιβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ
Γάλλου καὶ Γαΐου Οὐιβίο[υ

. . . . .

'. . . (from the) allotment of Adymus four (?) aruras (?), but I farm three aruras only. Now, since the dioecetes Septimius Apollonius, *vir egregius*, has ordered you to make a survey and deliver to each person his own private property, it is this very thing that I request of you—that you make delivery to me of the one arura, so that I may be able to contribute the public taxes on them to the most sacred treasury. Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius . . .'

1 The allotment name is new, see *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159–244. The first trace visible after *κληρ*[could well belong to the bottom of the arura symbol and the second to a delta representing the numeral 'four'. The wide spacing would also suit this interpretation. The text envisaged for the purposes of the translation is *ἐκ τοῦ*] *Ἀδύμου κλῆρ*[*ου*] (*ἀρουρ-*) *δ*, *μόνας δὲ γεωργῶ* (*ἀρούρας*) *γ*.

6–7 *παραδῶναι* (l. *παραδοῦναι*) *ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν κτῆσιν*. This is an allusion to the legal formula '*suum cuique tribuere*', see P. Petaus 24. 10 n.

8–9 *ποιήσῃ*. Cf. BGU I 159 (=W. *Chr.* 408). 10–11 *ἀξιῶ ἀκοῦσαι μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν σοι κελεύσῃς γενέσθαι*; SPP XXII 87. 13–14 *ἀ*[*ξιῶ*] *τὸ δόξαν σοι κελεύσῃς γενέσθαι*.

12–14 Since attested dates cover virtually the whole of this Egyptian year, running from Thoth 4 (1 September, A.D. 252; PSI VII 795. 15) to Mesore 29 (22 August, A.D. 253; VIII **1119** 30), cf. P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 116–17, the date of this document cannot be narrowed further than the regnal year number allows, i.e. the extreme limits are 29 August, A.D. 252, and 28 August, A.D. 253.

3289. Petition to a Strategus

37 4B.106/J(1–3)b 11·5 × 14·5 cm. A.D. 258/9

This is a straightforward report of thefts from the house of the petitioners' father. There is perhaps a guarded implication that their brother, mentioned in 10 as the father's third heir, is the person suspected of having made away with the papers and other lost articles.

The date clause, though not complete, gives us more information about the length of the term of office of the strategus concerned, see 1 n.

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Αὐρηλίῳ Σαρ[*απ*]*ίωνι στρ*(*ατηγῷ*) *Ὀξυρυγχίτου*
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θεωνείνου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος
ἀρχιερατεύσαντος [*καὶ*] *Θέωνος ἀμφοτέρων*
ἐξηγητῶν βουλευ[*τ*]*ῶν τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως.*
5 *καὶ ἔτι περιόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἡμετέρου Σαρα-*
πίωνος Σαραπίωνος ἐξηγητεύσαντος τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν οἰκοῦντος ἕκαστος καὶ
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνεχώρει οἰκίας, τελευ-
τήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ κληρονόμοις ἡμεῖν τε

1 *στρ*ʃ

καὶ ἑτέρῳ ἡμῶν ἀδελφῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καθ' ἃς ἔ-
λιπεν διαθήκας τὰς καὶ̣ `μετὰ´ τελευτὴν αὐτ̣[ο]ῦ ἀνοιγεί-
σας γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τούτου πράγμα[σι]ν̣ ἔγνω-
μεν ἀφαιρέσεις βιβλίων καὶ ἄλλω[ν ....]ω̣ν
οὐκ ὀλίγων γεγενῆσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἀ[σφα-
λιζ̣ό̣μ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣ι̣ ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ βιβλεί̣δ̣ι̣α̣ πρὸς τὸ
εἶναι αὐτὰ ἐν καταχωρισμῷ ἵν' εἰ πολυπρα-
γμονήσαντες κ̣α̣ταλαβώμεθά τι μένῃ ἡμεῖν
ὁ λόγος πρὸς το̣ὺ̣ς φανησομένους τὴν ἀφαίρε-
σιν πεποιῆσθαι. (ἔτους) ϛ´ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων
Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου
Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικῶν
Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν κα[ὶ Πο]υπλίου

. . . . .

19 Lϛ´

'To Aurelius Sarapion strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Theoninus alias Sarapion, ex-chief-priest, and Aurelius Theon, both exegetae, councillors of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. While our father, Sarapion son of Sarapion, ex-exegetes of the same city, was still alive and living by himself, each of us also departed to his own house, and after he died, with us and another brother of ours, Ammonius, as heirs according to the will which he left and which was opened after his death, when we visited his property we discovered that there had been thefts of papers and not a few other [articles?]. To secure ourselves in respect of these we submit this petition so that it may be upon record, in order that, if after inquiries we find out anything, our case may continue to lie against those who shall be discovered to have perpetrated the theft. Year 6 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius . . .'

1 The strategus is otherwise known from P. Mich. IX 614. 1 and **3290** 5, both undated. It could easily be incautiously assumed from P. Mich. 614. 7, which gives a date sometime in 3 Valerian and Gallienus (= A.D. 255/6) for a communication addressed simply 'to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome', that Aurelius Sarapion was in office in that year. However, we know from XXXIV **2714** that on the first day of 4 Valerian and Gallienus (29 August, A.D. 256) the strategus was Aurelius Sabinus. The present document, therefore, gives the best evidence for the date of Aurelius Sarapion, sometime in A.D. 258/9, though it seems not unlikely that the communication mentioned above, which was eventually delivered to Aurelius Sarapion, reached him sometime in A.D. 256/7. His successor is first known in office on 24 November, A.D. 260, according to a justified restoration of XII **1411**, cf. **3292** 1–2 n.

2 Although the names are common, it is quite likely that Theoninus alias Sarapion is the same as the prytanis known from the undated XII **1515** (lines 1–2). If so, **3289** dates from before his service as prytanis and provides a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 258/9 for **1515**, which is assigned to the late third century.

Incidentally, instead of *Cκ̣υβᾶτος*, in **1515** 14, a photo shows *Cκ̣ύβαλ̣ος*; delete the entry for the former in NB.

8 *ἀνεχώρει*. The use of the imperfect is unusual. Cf. perhaps B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, §§ 288–92, on the aoristic imperfect.

13 *βιβλίων*. These are most likely to have been papers of some kind. There is admittedly a possibility, though nothing can now be made of it, that they were books, cf. e.g. Julian, *Ep.* 38, on the library of George, late bishop of Alexandria. Julian writes to Porphyrius the *rationalis* instructing him to

persuade or compel those under any suspicion of having stolen from the library (*τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν ὑπονοίας ἔχοντας ἀφῃρῆσθαι τῶν βιβλίων*) to make full restitution.

Restore perhaps [*σκευ*]*ῶν*. Cf. BGU VIII 1774. 6–8 *περὶ ἐκφορήσεως σκευῶν τε καὶ βιβλίων 'πατρικῶν'*.

16–17 For *εἰ* with the subjunctive see R. C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive and Optative*, 64–6.

22 The Caesar whose name once followed was in all probability Saloninus, who was promoted after his brother's death in summer A.D. 258, cf. XLIII **3134** 12 n. There seems to be no example as yet of Valerian Caesar appearing in a date clause of the sixth year, though it is conceivable that one might be found, if news of his death failed to reach some part of Egypt before 29 August, A.D. 258.

3290. Application for Payment

43 5B.70/C(14–17)a 9·5 × 12 cm. *c.* A.D. 258–60

Another mention of the strategus Aurelius Sarapion occurs in this document, cf. **3289** 1 n. The earliest limit of its date is established by the mention of Mussius Aemilianus as prefect of Egypt. He was promoted from acting prefect between 24 September, A.D. 258 and September/October, A.D. 259, see XLIII **3112** introd. By 24 November, A.D. 260 Sarapion himself had been replaced by the next strategus, see **3292** 1–2 n.

The application comes from a known person, Aurelius Spartiates alias Chaeremon, see 1 n., who requests payment for wine supplied by him to provision troops serving, apparently, under the direct command of the prefect. See **3292** introd. for the probable cause of this military activity. Other references to provisioning troops in this period are XLIII **3111**, a freight contract for wine, and P. Wisc. I 3, a petition from an unwilling liturgist who had just performed duties connected with supplies for troops. On the military *annona* of the time see D. van Berchem, 'L'annone militaire . . . au IIIe siècle', in *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires* 10 (1937) 117–202.

On the back is the left half of a six-line letter written downwards along the fibres, which is transcribed as item **3291**.

Αὐρήλιος Σπαρτιάτης ὁ καὶ Χαιρή-
μων γυμνασιαρχήσας βουλευτὴς τῆς
'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλί[ο]υ
Ἀγάθου γραμματέως. (vac.)
5 *Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίωνι στρατηγῷ 'Οξ[υ-*
ρυγχίτου τῷ φιλτάτῳ χα[ίρ]ειν.
αἰτοῦμαι ἐπ[ιστ]αλῆναι τε.[.]α.[....
τως εἰς τιμ[ὴ]ν οὗ παρέσχον οἴνο[υ
κεραμίων τριακοσίων ἐκ προστάξεω[ς
10 *τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόν[ος*
Μουσσίου Α[ἰ]μιλλιανοῦ εἰς χρείας [ἀννώ-

νης τῶν [ἅμ]α αὐτῷ γενναιοτάτων
στρατιωτῶν ἀ]κολούθως τοῖς γρ̣α̣φε̣ῖ-

. . . . .

'Aurelius Spartiates alias Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, through me, Aurelius Agathus, secretary, to Aurelius Sarapion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, his dearest colleague, greeting. I request that payment be made . . . for the price of 300 jars of wine which I supplied by order of our most perfect prefect Mussius Aemilianus for the needs of the *annona* of the most valiant soldiers in his company, in accordance with what was written . . .'

1 This man was already known as an ex-gymnasiarch and councillor of Oxyrhynchus, cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, 30 No. 292, A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 147, and also as strategus of the Hermopolite nome, cf. e.g. XXXI **2560** 1 n. If XVII **2108** of 25 February A.D. 259 rightly belongs to him, as suggested in **2560** 1 n., he may have been in Hermopolis as strategus at the date of this papyrus, which would neatly explain the presence in 3–4 of the secretary who acts as intermediary. One might have expected him to have been given his title in that case, but it is noteworthy that his name appears first in the prescript, which implies that he was not inferior to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome though his titles as given are inferior.

7–8 After τε omicron or omega seems best. Any other letter would probably have left traces on the papyrus below the small curve which is visible. τέω[c] is hard to avoid, but not easy to understand. The use of the word became more frequent in late Greek, but the meaning is always vague, see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, 70–73. Here 'now' would suit. After]α is a letter with an upright and a crossbar or diagonal, e.g. λ, ν, π, τ. At the end four letters lost is a generous estimate, though it is possible that more could have been crowded in. Something like ἀν[υπερθέ]|τως would suit.

3291. Letter

43 5B.70/C(14–17)a 9·5 × 12 cm. *c.* A.D. 258–60 or later

This letter is written downwards along the fibres on the back of **3290**. The left half is well preserved at top and bottom and it seems certain that there was no prescript, though a farewell formula may easily have been lost from the lower right. Since wine is mentioned, as in **3290**, and Spartas (6) might be related to or even identical with the Spartiates in **3290**, it seems worth while to transcribe it, even though a good deal must be lost from the ends of the lines.

If the present document does concern the same people and the same transaction as **3290**, that can hardly be the copy that was actually submitted to the strategus. However, it is probably unprofitable to speculate how it came to be re-used by the writer of the letter, who was a woman.

εὐθέως ἀναβᾶσα εὗρον Σαραπίωνα τὸν .[
π̣α̣ρέλαβα παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀποχ(ὴν) καὶ ἔπεμψά σο̣ι̣ [
κέ̣ν μοι τὴν ἐ(πιστολὴν?) τὴν (πρὸς) τὸν κυν.[.]...ο̣ῦ̣[
π̣ό̣λεως. εὐθέως οὖν διαπεμφθῆν̣α̣ί̣ σ̣ο̣ι̣ [
5 ὁ οἶνος του.....[....].δ̣ετη.[
τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Σπαρτᾶν καὶ ...[

2 αποχ̄ 3 ε', ρ'

'As soon as I got up here I found Sarapion the . . . I received the receipt from him and I sent (it?) to you . . . he (delivered?) to me the letter(?) for the . . . city. Immediately, therefore, . . . to be sent to you . . . the wine . . . (greet so-and-so and?) his sister and Spartas and . . .'

1 At the end ς[is a possibility, which might suggest c[*τρατηγόν*, as **3290** is addressed to a strategus called Sarapion, but α̣[looks more likely and there are more possibilities.

3 Among the least unattractive possibilities are *κυνη*[*γ*]*ο̣ν*, after which there is a long descender, and *Κυνο*[*π*]*ο̣λ*(*ίτην*), the long descender being taken as an abbreviation mark.

3292. Communication to a Strategus

48 5B.30/G(1–2)f 6·5 × 10 cm. *c.* A.D. 259–64

This document, probably either a report or a petition, breaks off at an interesting point just when it seems to be about to speak of the events of a sudden dawn attack, presumably on the village of Nesmeimis, from which the sender came.

By mentioning the name of an approximately datable official and specifically describing the tribe of the Goniotae as Libyans it draws together into a single period several items of evidence about barbarian raids on Egypt, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 31. We may plausibly conclude that the Libyan invasion which reached Philadelphia in the Fayum in A.D. 258 (P. Princ. II 29), the undated disturbances by the Goniotae and Mastitae in the region of Heracleopolis (BGU III 935), and the undated appearance of these two tribes in the Oxyrhynchus area (XXXIII **2681**), are all episodes of the same series and to be connected with the invasion mentioned in this document of *c.* A.D. 259–64.

As the evidence accumulates it grows more and more likely that the troop movements under Mussius Aemilianus, acting-prefect and then full prefect of Egypt, and under the two *correctores* of this period, were associated with disturbances like these, cf. **3290**, XLIII **3111**, **3112** introductions.

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Αὐρηλίῳ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ
καὶ] Νεμεσιανῷ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)
παρ]ὰ Αὐρηλίου Παμούνι-
ος] Θώνιος μητρὸς Θατρῆ-
5 *τος] ἀ̣[π]ὸ̣ κώ[μ]ης Νεσμίμε-*
ως ἱε]ρ̣έως καὶ προφή-
τ]ου Ἄμμωνος καὶ τῶν
σ]υ̣ννάων θεῶν με[γ]ίστω(ν)

2 στρ∫οξ! 8 με[γ]ιστῶ

ἰ[ε]ροῦ τοῦ ὄντος [ἐν τῇ] αὐτῇ
10 Νεσμίμι. ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ γε-
νομένῃ καταδρομῇ τῶν
ἐπε[λθ]όντων Λιβύων Γω-
νιωτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ιθ̄ τοῦ
ὄντ]ος μηνὸς Παῦνι
15 ἐξα]ίφνης ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθ⟨ρ⟩ο(ν)
...]ομενοι...[.].[....
. . . . .

10 l. *Νεσμίμει* 15 *ορθō*

'To Aurelius Ptolemaeus alias Nemesianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Pamunis son of Thonis, mother Thatres, from the village of Nesmeimis, priest and prophet of Ammon and the associated very great gods of the temple which is in the same Nesmeimis. Whereas, during the the late invasion of marauding Goniotae from Libya, on the nineteenth of the current month of Payni suddenly at dawn . . .'

1–2 This strategus is known from XII **1411**, **1502**, and **1555**. According to a well justified restoration **1411** dates from 24 November, A.D. 260; **1555** certainly belongs to the brief reign of Macrianus and Quietus, which ran from autumn A.D. 260 to near the end of A.D. 261. His next known predecessor is Aurelius Sarapion, on whom see **3289** 1 n., last known some time in A.D. 258/9. His next known successor is the strategus who appears for the first time in the next item, dated to 26 May of an unknown year falling in the period A.D. 262–5, see **3293** 1–2 n., 23–6 n. The service of our strategus must, therefore, lie between 29 August, A.D. 258 and 26 May, A.D. 265. The day of the present document is limited by lines 13–14 to the period 20–30 Payni = 14–24 June and consequently the possible years are A.D. 259 to A.D. 264. No doubt the earlier part of this period is more likely, since P. Princ. II 29 dates from 8 or 18 September, A.D. 258.

9 This temple is not recorded in G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*, Vol. i. Two other Oxyrhynchite villages are credited there with temples of Ammon, namely Peenno (p. 112) and Teis (p. 114), and there was also one at Senocomis, see **3275** 4–7.

12–13 The Goniotae (and Mastitae) lived in Mareotis, which in the time of Ptolemy the geographer (ii A.D.) was in Libya and much later was in Egypt, according to J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 47.

15 *ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθ⟨ρ⟩ο(ν)*. For the correction cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ὑπό* C III, 2, citing this same phrase from N.T. Acts 5:21 and Geoponica 2. 4. 3. The misspelling is perhaps due to a phonetic difficulty, cf. Mayser–Schmoll I i 159–60 (§ 36). It occurs also in P. Warren 17. 9.

3293. Notice to serve as a Cosmetes

32 4B.3/K(1–2)b 11 × 28·5 cm. 26 May A.D. 262, 263, 264, or 265

Similar documents to this are XLIV **3182** (gymnasiarch, A.D. 257), VI **891** (exegetes, A.D. 294), **3297** (cosmetes, A.D. 294), and P. Ant. I 31 (cosmetes, A.D. 347). It is interesting that here the cosmetes is given notice to serve by the strategus, whose involvement in the business of the town council and the boards of magistrates was not expected, see **3182** introd., where the possibility that the sender of **3182** might have been the strategus was regarded as unlikely. The similarity of the new text now makes

it very likely. Since the dates in **3182** are within a week of that of XXXIV **2714**, it may well have been sent by the strategus Aurelius Sabinus acting through his deputy Aurelius Petronius.

It is not yet clear whether a magistrate could expect as a matter of routine to receive notice both from the local prytanis and/or council and from the strategus as the representative of the Roman government, or whether the strategus only intervened in exceptional circumstances. In this connection we should note that in **3182** the gymnasiarch is liable only for a quarter share of the duty for one day, and that in **3293** there is a passage, unfortunately damaged, which seems to refer to the absence of one of the interested parties, see 15–17 n.

The remains of the date clause and of the name of the strategus show that a previously unknown strategus was the sender of this notice, cf. 1–2 n. We also learn the name of a new prytanis. The back is blank.

Αὐρήλιος Πα̣.....[...]..[
κ̣....ας στρ(ατηγὸς) Ὀξυρυγχ[ίτου
Αὐρηλίῳ Διος̣κ̣όρῳ Χω-
σίωνος κοσμητῇ τῷ
5 *φιλτάτωι χαίρ̣ειν.*
δι' ὧν μοι ἐπέστε[ι]λεν
ἡ κρατίστη τῶν αὐτόθι
βουλὴ διὰ Αὐρηλίου Θέω-
νος Σαραπίωνος ἐνάρχου
10 *πρυτάνεως ἐδήλω[σε]ν*
δεῖν σε ἀναδήσα̣[σ]θ̣[αι] τ̣ὸν
τῆς κοσμ̣[ητείας στ]έφα-
νον ἀπὸ νε̣[ομηνίας ἕως .
τοῦ ὄντος μ[ηνὸς Παῦνι
15 *τω τὸν κ...[.....*
α̣γόμενόν σο̣. ἀποδ̣η[...
τυγχάνειν. ἵν' οὖν εἰ[δῇς,
φίλτατε, καὶ τῶν [τῇ ἀρχῇ
διαφερόντων π[ρόνοιαν
20 *ποιήσ̣η ἐπέστε̣[ιλά σοι.* (m. 2) *ἐρρῶ-*
](vac.) *σθαί σε εὔχομ[αι, φίλ(τατε).* (m. 3) *Αὐρ(ήλιος)*
](vac.) *Σαραπάμ[μων ὑ(πηρέτης) ἐπήνεγκα.*

2 στρ$

(m. 1) (ἔτους) .. *Α]ὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος Κα[ίσαρος Πουπλίου*
Λικιν]ν̣ίου Γαλλιη̣ν̣[οῦ Γερμανικοῦ
25 *Μεγίστ]ου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐ[τυχοῦς*
Σεβαστοῦ,] (vac.) *Παῦνι α̣*[

'Aurelius P . . . alias . . ., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Dioscorus son of Chosion, cosmetes, his dearest colleague, greeting. The most excellent town council of the local people in a communication addressed to me by agency of Aurelius Theon son of Sarapion, prytanis in office, has declared that you are required to put on the crown of the office of cosmetes from the first to the *n*th of the current month of Payni . . . For your information, then, dearest colleague, and so that you may make provision for matters relating to the magistracy, I have sent you this communication. (2nd hand) I pray for your health, dearest colleague. (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Sarapammon, assistant, served the notice. (1st hand) Year (9–12?) of Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Payni 1.'

1–2 The strategus is evidently new. Since the remains do not suit the formulas indicating an acting strategus—*διαδεχόμενος / διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν* or the like—the spacing probably indicates that he had an alias. Of the numerous patterns theoretically possible the best are *Πα̣.....[. ὁ κ]α̣ὶ* | ² *Κ̣....α̣ς* and *Πα̣.....[...].. [ὁ]* | ² *κ̣α̣ὶ ..α̣ς.* His term of office must fall between those of Aurelius Ptolemaeus alias Nemesianus, for whom 24 November A.D. 260 is the one virtually certain date, see **3292** 1–2 n., and Aurelius Heraclius alias Asterius, first known on 11 October, A.D. 265 (P. Giss. 34). For the date of this papyrus see further 23–6 n.

3–4 The cosmetes has not been identified elsewhere.

8–10 The prytanis is new. Since the office is an annual one, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 61–5, there is a hope that the exact year of this document may one day be fixed by a new papyrus. Cf. 23–6 n. for the possible years.

13–14 *ἀπὸ νε̣[ομηνίας ἕως .]* | ¹⁴ *τοῦ ὄντος μ[ηνὸς Παῦνι.* The date of the start of the cosmetes' term of service is given here as the first of the current month, which is Payni according to line 26, where the ambiguous trace of the number of the day must consequently belong to *α*. It is a little surprising, perhaps, that the document is dated on the very same day, 26 May, as the start of the term of service. One would have expected that longer notice would have been given, see XLIV **3182**, where service begins on 27 August, the notification is dated 23 August, and the delivery of it took place on 25 August; also P. Ant. I 31, where the notice is dated 25 July and the service begins on the next day. Cf. **3297** 1 n.

There is, of course, no way of guessing what figure between 2 and 30 inclusive stood at the end of line 13.

15–17 One can only guess at the meaning here. By way of conjecture I suggest *τῷ τὸν κα̣τ̣ὰ̣ [τὸ ἥμισυ συν-]* | ¹⁶ *α̣χ̣όμενόν σο̣ι ἀπόδ̣η[μον]* | ¹⁷ *τυγχάνειν*, 'because the person who is associated with you to do a half share of the duty is out of town'. The dative of the articular infinitive is comparatively rare according to B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, 337–8; to his examples can now be added one which seems particularly relevant here, XL **2902** 8–10 *μέχρι δεῦρο μὴ ὑπακούσας τῷ ἐπὶ τῆ[ς] ἀ̣λλοδαπῆς ἀναγκαίας χρείας χ[ά]ριν παρε̣σ̣τρα̣τ̣εῦσθαι*, 'up to now not having answered to my name because of having been away from home on unavoidable duty following the army'. For *ἀπόδ̣η[μον] τυγχάνειν* cf. XL **2899** 13–15 *ἀπ̣[όδη]μος τυνχάνων καὶ παρε[ίθην] κατ' ἄγνοιαν*, 'because I was away from home I was also mistakenly passed over'; *LSJ* s.v. *τυγχάνω* A II 2. For the rest I have no single convincing parallel. For the sharing of public duties see **3182** introd., 7–8 n., XL **2915** 17, **2940** 5.

18 For the restoration of *τῇ ἀρχῇ* cf. W. *Chr.* 402 i 18–19, *τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ* (= *κοσμητείᾳ*) [δ]*ιαφέροντα* [π]*άντα ἀ*[π]*οπληρώσεις.*

21–2 The name in 22 is not mentioned elsewhere in the text. Though the position is different, it probably belongs to a delivery docket corresponding to XLIV **3182** 17–18 *Αὐρήλιος Ἀμόις ὑπ(ηρέτης) ἐπήνεγκα* [(*ἔτους*) δ]⁻ *Μεσορὴ ἐπαγομένων β.* Here no date was necessary because the notice was only written on the day of the commencement of service, see 13–14 n., and delivery must have taken place on the same day.

The beginnings of the lines appear to be blank and this does not seem to be due to abrasion of the

ink. However, the layout would be more usual if the sender's farewell formula and the assistant's docket occupied separate lines, and this may possibly have been the case here.

23–6 The date clause is that of the sole rule of Gallienus, which contained years 9–15, A.D. 261/2 to A.D. 267/8. It lacks the victory title *Περσικὸς Μέγιστος*, which is attested in the papyri from the early part of year 14, A.D. 266/7, and never thereafter omitted in the cases cited in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, p. 120. (In the damaged CPR p. 110 B, 18 it is virtually certain to have appeared and cannot be assumed not to have been written.) The present document, therefore, should be earlier than year 14. Year 13, A.D. 265/6 is extremely unlikely, because the office of prytanis is annual, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 61–5, and another prytanis is already attested (XXXI **2569**). The same is apparently true of year 9, A.D. 261/2, which in its earlier part was designated 2 Macrianus and Quietus, but when I saw PSI IX 1070 on two occasions in 1970 in the Laurentian Library in Florence I concluded that the figure for the year was extremely doubtful and that the traces would be as much consistent with *α* as with *β*. Since Aurelius Dioscurides alias Sabinus is attested in XVII **2109** as the prytanis of 1 Macrianus and Quietus, PSI 1070 may well belong to that year. At the very least the doubtful figure should not be used to prove that Sabinus was in office as prytanis in two successive years, though this was accepted by Dr. Bowman, op. cit., p. 63.

For this document, therefore, years 9–12 of Gallienus are available and the possible dates are 26 May, A.D. 262, 263, 264, and 265.

26 The figure for the day is much damaged. It is consistent with *α* and this is the only date which will suit the details given in 13–14, see note.

Below and to the left of *Παῦνι* in this line there are some traces of ink, which might possibly be remains of a further short line, but they are so slight that it seems more likely that they are accidental.

3294. Nomination to Public Service

48 5B.30/G(3–5)a | 5·5 × 20·5 cm. | Between 29 August, A.D. 271 and 4 March, A.D. 272

The date assigned to the strategus Aurelius Turbo in XL **2923** 1, 8 nn. is here confirmed, and since that dating itself depended on the dates assigned to the prefect Statilius Ammianus, those too receive general corroboration. We also learn the name of a new phylarch (3–4).

Two features of the format of the document are puzzling. First, the top margin is unusually deep, *c.* 8·5 cm. Second, the plural formula—*εἰς τὰς ὑπογεγραμμένας χρίας δίδωμι τοὺς ἐνγεγραμμένους* (8–10)—suggests that it should be followed by the titles of at least two offices and the names of at least two persons, but the blank space which follows the body of the document and precedes the date clause is deep enough and wide enough for only one short line.

Probably the top margin was intended to contain annotations for official use. In the Petaus archive documents which needed to be forwarded from the village scribe's office were copied out on a fresh sheet with a space left blank at the top for a covering letter, see P. Petaus p. 110, a reference which I owe to Professor E. G. Turner.

The Press reader has pointed out that, as well as leaving too little space after 13, the clerk slipped into the singular, writing *ἔστι δέ* for *εἰσὶ δέ*. The sheet was probably regarded as spoiled for this use and put aside for the back to be used for a less formal purpose.

The writing is blurred and looks as if it was rubbed while the whole of the written part of the surface was damp, but there seems to have been no deliberate attempt to wash off the ink.

The back is occupied by **3300.**

Αὐρηλίῳ Τούρβωνι
cτρ(ατηγῷ) τῆc λαμ(πρᾶc) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεωc
παρ' Αὐρηλίου Cτεφάνου
Ὡρίωνος φυλάρχου
5 *τῆc λαμπρᾶc Ὀξυρυγχει-*
τῶν πόλεωc τοῦ
ἐνεcτῶτοc β (ἔτουc) καὶ ε (ἔτουc).
εἰc τὰc ὑπογεγραμμένας
χρίαc δίδωμι τοὺc
10 *ἐνγεγραμμένουc*
ὅπωc ἀντιλ....
ἕκαcτοc .....[.].του
χρίαc. (vac.) *ἔcτι δέ.*
(vac.)
(ἔτουc) β' Αὐτοκράτοροc Καίcαροc
15 *Λουκίου Δομιττίου Αὐρηλιαν[οῦ*
Εὐcεβοῦc Εὐτυχοῦc Cεβαcτοῦ
καὶ (ἔτουc) ε' Ἰουλίου Αὐρηλίου
Cεπτιμίου Οὐαβαλάθου
Ἀθη]νοδώρου τοῦ λ[αμ-
. . . . .

2 *cτρ*ζ, *λαμ*ζ*οξ'* 7 *β*ζ'', *ε*ζ'' 9, 13 l. *χρείαc* 14 L.*β'* 15 *δομιτ'τιου* 17 L*ε'*

'To Aurelius Turbo, strategus of the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Stephanus son of Horion, phylarch of the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites for the present second year and fifth year.'

'To the undermentioned services I nominate the persons named herein, so that each may (take up? his own?) service. Viz: (blank).'

'Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Pius Felix Augustus, and year 5 of Julius Aurelius Septimius Vabalathus Athenodorus, the most glorious . . .'

2 *λαμ(πρᾶc)*. See *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277–92 for the dating of changes in the titulature of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and especially 281–5 for this one. The earliest secure date for the later title *λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη* remains 4 March, A.D. 272, ibid. 285, X **1264** 2, 6, and this date may be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* for **3294**. Note that XL **2923**, also addressed to Aurelius Turbo, has the later title and is to be dated, presumably, later than this document.

It is most unusual and is perhaps simply a scribal error that Turbo is described as strategus of the city. He should properly be called strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

3–4 The phylarch is new. On the office see P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil*, 16–30, cf. XL Introd. pp. 7–8. The Shepherds' Quarter, or, as I have suggested, the tribe consisting of this and other quarters and designated by its name for short, was providing liturgists for this year, A.D. 271/2, see XL **2904** 8–10 n.

11–12 We expect something like *ὅπως ἀντιλάβηται ἕκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρίας*. In 11 there is room for only about four letters after *ἀντιλ*—and they appear to have been altered by a pen with a broader point. In 12 *ἑαυτοῦ* by itself is too short; *τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ χρίας*, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II ii 429–30, would suit the space and will probably do as a conjecture, but I am unable to verify it.

14–19 For the chronology see XL Introd. pp. 15–26. According to the view adopted there 2 Aur. 5 Vab. began on 30 August, A.D. 271. In the course of the same Egyptian year it began to be designated as 3 Aurelian, the first example dating from 24 June, A.D. 272, see ibid. p. 23. For **3294**, therefore, the *terminus post quem* is 29 August, A.D. 271, and the *terminus ante quem* is 4 March, A.D. 272, as explained above in 2 n.

19 λ[αμ-] | [20] [προτάτου or λ[αμϛ=λ[αμ(προτάτου). For the titles see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 122.

3295. Registration of a child

18 2B.65/G(1)b 10·5 × 20 cm. 24–28 August A.D. 285

The standard analysis of documents of this type is to be found in P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil*, 48–65. Examples published later are XXXVIII **2855**, **2858**, XLIII **3136**, **3137**, XLIV **3183**, and P. Köln II 87.

This new one is interesting for its date in the first year of Diocletian and for the exceptional address, best paralleled in P. Köln 87 of A.D. 271—*τοῖς διοικοῦσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν φυλ(αρχίαν) τῆς . . . πόλεως*, 'to the administrators of the affairs of the phylarchy of the city'. One of the members of this board is Aurelius Horion son of Theon, who is known from later years as a systates, i.e. in XLIII **3137** of A.D. 294/5 and in P. Fuad I Univ. 13 of A.D. 297/8. The phylarchs of the tribes were replaced by systatae near the beginning of Diocletian's reign, the earliest systates being attested in A.D. 287 (PSI III 164), see Mertens, op. cit., p. 31 and n. 174. It is an obvious possibility that at the time **3295** was written the change was imminent or even in progress. Another possibility is that the particular phylarch to whom the application would normally have been sent was for some reason unable to act. In XL **2936** 28–9 a subscription which would normally have been written by a phylarch was made by a person whose title should probably be restored as *διοικ(ῶν) τὰ κατὰ τὴν [φυλαρχίαν* and there are indications that this was because the phylarch was ill, see ibid. 9 n., 28–31 n. P. Köln 87 belongs to the same short period in A.D. 271.

The back is blank.

τ[ο]ῖς διοικοῦσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν φυλ(αρχίαν) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ
λ̣αμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους) διὰ
Αὐρηλίων Ὡρίωνος Θέωνος καὶ Νίλου τοῦ

1 *φυλ*, *λαμ*) 2 *λ̣αμ*)*οξ'*, *αϛ''*

καὶ Ἀθηναίου καὶ Μέλανος Μέλανος καὶ τῶν
σὺν αὐτοῖς π(αρὰ) Μάρ[κο]υ Αὐρηλίου Εὐδαίμο-
νος Ἡρακλείδου τ̣οῦ Διοσκόρου μη(τρὸς) Ταύριος
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. β[ο]ύλομαι πρώτω[ς
ἀ[ναγρα]φῆναι ἐφ' οὗ κἀ̣γὼ̣ ἀ̣[ν]αγράφομαι
αὐτὸς] ἀμφόδου̣ [Ἱππέ]ων Παρεμβολῆς
τὸ]ν̣ γε̣γονότα μ̣[ο]ι ἐ̣κ̣ τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ ς̣υ̣ν̣ο̣ύ̣ς̣ης μοι
γυ̣ν̣α̣ι̣κὸς Αὐρηλίας Ν̣ί̣κ̣ης ἤτοι Ταϊάδος
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως υ̣[ἱ]ὸν Αὐρήλιον
Εὐδαίμονα (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμ(νασίου) ὄντα πρὸς
τὸ ἐνεστὸς α (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) ι̣α̣. δ̣ιὸ ἐπιδίδωμι
τ[ὸ] ὑπόμ(νημα) ἀξιῶν ταγῆναι αὐτὸν δ̣ιὰ τῆς
καταχωριζομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραφῆς
ἀφηλίκ[ω]ν ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμηλίκων τάξει
ὡς καθήκει καὶ ὀμν[ύ]ω τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ ἔ̣θ̣ι̣μ̣[ον] Ῥ̣ω̣[μαί-
ο̣ι̣ς̣ ὅρκον μὴ ἐψεῦ̣σθαι. (vac.)
(ἔτους) α″ Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Κ[α]ίσαρος Γαΐου Ο̣ὐ̣α̣λ̣[ερίο]υ
Δι]οκλητιανοῦ Ε̣ὐ̣σ̣ε̣β̣οῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβ̣α̣σ̣τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
ἐπ]α̣γο̣μ̣έ̣νω(ν) .. (vac.)
(m. 2) *Αὐρήλιος Εὐ̣δ̣α̣[ίμ]ων ἐπιδέδω-*
κα καὶ ὤμοσα τὸν ὅρκον ὡς
πρ̣όκειται. Αὐρήλιος Ἀ̣σ̣κ̣λ̣[ᾶς
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό-
το]ς γράμ̣μ̣ατα. (vac.)
(m. 3?) *Ἱ̣π̣πέων Παρεμβολ(ῆς)* ...[.].....
..].....[.] (v.) ....[.....]....

5 π′ 6 μη͵ 11 ταϊαδος 13 ιβ., γυμϛ 14 αϛLι̣α̣ 15 υπομϛ 20 Lα″, γαϊου
22 επ]αγομενῶ 28 παρεμβὸ

'To the administrators of the affairs of the phylarchy of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites for the present 1st year, by agency of Aurelius Horion son of Theon and Aurelius Nilus alias Athenaeus and Aurelius Melas son of Melas and their associates, from Marcus Aurelius Eudaemon, son of Heracleides, grandson of Dioscorus, mother Tayris, from the same city. I wish to have registered for the first time in the district in which I am myself registered, the Cavalry Camp district, the son born to me from my wife who lives with me, Aurelia Nice or Taias, from the same city, Aurelius Eudaemon, who is liable to the twelve-drachma poll-tax and of the gymnasial class and is in the present 1st year 11(?) years old. Therefore I submit the application, requesting that he be enrolled in the list of minors registered by you in the category of his coevals as is proper and I swear the oath customary among Romans that I have made no false declaration. Year 1 of Imperator Caesar Gaius Valerius Diocletianus Pius Felix Augustus, *n*th intercalary day.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Eudaemon, have submitted (the application) and I swore the oath, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Asclas(?), wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

(3rd hand?) 'Cavalry Camp district . . .'

3 *Ὡρίωνος Θέωνος*. See introd.

14 *ι̣α̣*. The reading is doubtful; *ι̣* seems very likely and the fact that the son is to be enrolled in the list of minors (16–17) suggests that he was under fourteen years of age. It seems impossible to read the other theoretical possibilities, *ιβ* and *ιγ*.

28 The last three traces look like Ḷ*ι̣*. ; if so, this is the son's age, i.e. (*ἐτῶν*) *ι̣α̣*(?), see 14 and n. It should be preceded at this point by his name, but this is difficult to verify. A possibility is *Ε̣ὐ̣δ̣[α]ί̣μ̣ο̣ν̣α̣*, cf. XLIII **3136** 18–19, though the nominative case is expected, see XXXVIII **2855** 28, XLIV **3183** 22–3, P. Cornell 18. 26–9.

3296. Petition?

28 4B.61/G(24–25)a 9×23 cm. 10 June, A.D. 291

The earliest known date for the prefect of Egypt Titius Honoratus was hitherto 21(?) January, A.D. 292, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 320. This document sets the date back some seven months to 10 June, A.D. 291. It also gives us the name of another equestrian official of high rank, Aurelius Antiphates, *vir perfectissimus*, and tells us that he was in office on and before the same fixed date. The loss of about forty-five letters from the ends of the lines deprives us of the knowledge of what that office was and makes it very difficult to gather what the document was about.

However, as far as at present understood or guessed, it seems to be a petition submitted by the heirs of Aurelia Stratonice and by a lady called Aurelia Lucilla alias Theonis. The story may have run somewhat as follows. On 10 June, A.D. 291 a letter dated Mecheir (January/February) of the same year was delivered. It is not clear by whom it was sent; very likely it was delivered to the petitioners. In the strangely long interval between the sending and the delivery of the letter proceedings had taken place in the court of Antiphates, during which he delivered some pronouncement which prompted the petitioners to appeal to the prefect of Egypt, Titius Honoratus.

At this stage we reach the main point of the petition, which is even less clear than the rest. It seems most likely that the letter in question was an official or semi-official letter requiring some action which the petitioners wanted to postpone to await the outcome of the appeal to the prefect. Possibly they required a subscription from Antiphates authorizing such a delay, but a clause mentioning the amount of the caution money payable in respect of the appeal may be the kernel of the matter. For the many difficulties and uncertainties see the notes.

On the back, upside down and across the fibres, there are the ends of 10 lines giving Oxyrhynchite place-names and areas of land in aruras, below which the papyrus is blank.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντιφάτῃ τῷ διαcημοτ[άτῳ
(vac.) [
παρὰ κληρονόμων Αὐρηλίας Cτρατονείκης [
νοέως γυμνασιάρχου βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λα[μπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
Λουκίλλης τῆς καὶ Θεωνείδος θυγατρὸς Θέωνο[c
5 *χιτῶν πόλεως. ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἐνεcτώcῃ ἡμ[έρᾳ*
ἐπιτρόπου ἐπήνεγκεν ἐπιcτολὴν ἐξ ὀνόμα[τος
εἰc Μεχεὶρ μῆνα τοῦ ἐνεcτῶτος ζϛ καὶ cϛ .[
cτουμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τῆς δὲ ἐπιcτ[ο]λῆ[c] ..[
δέπω τοῦ πράγματος παρὰ coὶ γνωcθέν[τος
10 *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡρώδου καί τινα διελάληcαc δι..[*
ἡμᾶc ἀκολούθωc τοῖc νόμοιc ἐκκαλουμεν[
Ὀνωρᾶτον, ᾧ παραθηcόμεθα τὰ προcόντ[α
ἀξι]οῦντεc, ὡc ἐκελεύcθη, τὴν cυνήθη υ.[
cτρ]ατηγὸν ἐπιcτολιμεα γράμματα πρὸc τὸ α[
15 *...] τοῦ τῆc ἐκκλήτου προcτίμ[ο]υ ὄντοc cυν.[*
τε]τρακιcχιλίαιc ἑξακοcίαιc εἴκοcι πέντε του[
καὶ καθ' ἕνα ὡμολογήcαμεν. (ἔτους) ζ' Αὐτοκράτ[οροc Καίcαροc Γαΐου Αὐρηλίου
Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ (ἔτους) c' Αὐτοκράτοροc Καίcαροc Μάρκου Αὐ[ρηλίου Οὐαλερίου
Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίcτων
Εὐcεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Cεβαcτῶν, Παῦνι ιc¯. [
20 (m. 2) *δι' ἐ]μοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ϛαρᾶ του.[*
ἐπ]ιδεδώκαμεν καὶ ε.[
(m. 3) *Αὐρη]λία Λουκίλλα ἡ κ[αὶ Θεωνίc*
ἐπερ]ωτηθεῖcα ὡμολ[όγηcα.
(m. 4) .....]..... *ων τὴν ἐκλ[*
25 .....]..... *προcέλθατε* [
.....]..[.].*ατα.* (vac.) [

2 l. *Cτρατονίκης* 4 l. *Θεωνίδος* 6 *επηνεγ'κεν* 8 *ὑφ* 10 *ὑϊου* 11 *εκ'καλουμεν[*
14 l. *ἐπιcτολιμαῖα* 15 *εκ'κλητου* 17 L *ζ'* 18 L *c'*

(No continuous translation is possible. The notes contain translations of passages where some sense seems to emerge.)

2–3 Restore *Ἀντι]νοέωc*. This may refer to Stratonice's father, but possibly the name of the subscriber of 20–1 appeared in 2, e.g. *δι' ἐμοῦ Ϛαρᾶ κτλ. Ἀντι]νοέωc*; cf. also 6 n.

5–8 In spite of the damage a clear grammatical relationship can be perceived: ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμ[έρᾳ . . . (subject)] . . . ἐπήνεγκεν ἐπιστολήν . . . [. . . κεχρονισμένην] εἰς Μεχεὶρ μῆνα . . . [περὶ χρεω?]-στουμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, 'Whereas today So-and-so delivered a letter dated in the month of Mecheir about (sums owed?) by us . . .'

6 ἐπιτρόπου. This might denote an official *procurator* of some kind or a guardian. It might be that Saras, the subscriber of 20–1, was the guardian of the heirs, cf. also 2–3 n.

ἐπήνεγκεν. This word is sometimes used of the delivery of official communications by ὑπηρεταί, e.g. I **59** 22, VI **899** 50, XLIV **3182** 17, BGU IV 1070. 13, 14. If the letter was equivalent to a summons delivered by an assistant of the strategus, that might explain why the strategus is apparently mentioned in 14.

6–7 Restore probably κεχρονισμένην] εἰς Μεχεὶρ μῆνα. Why the letter took so long to be delivered (January/February till 10 June) is one of the puzzling questions to arise here. It suggests, however, that it was not a mere private letter, but probably a document passing through the machinery of the bureaucracy.

8 Restore perhaps χρεω]στουμένων, cf. 5–8 n. and introd. See P. Kretschmer and E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. gr. Sprache* for possible verbs in -στέω. None of the others is more attractive.

8–12 The following outline can be conjectured: τῆς δὲ ἐπιστ̣[ο]λ̣ῆ̣[ς . . . ἔτι πάλαι γεγραμμένης μη]δέπω τοῦ πράγματος παρὰ σοὶ γνωσθ̣έ̣ν̣[τος . . . ὅτε ὁ δεῖνα (= ἡ Λουκίλλα?) προσῆλθέ σοι] διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡρώδου καί τινα διελάλησας δι̣.̣[. . . κελεύων . . .] ἡμᾶς . . . ἐκκαλουμέν̣[ους . . . ἀπαντᾶν πρός . . .], Ὀνωρᾶτον, ᾧ παραθησόμεθα τὰ προσόντ[α ἡμῖν δίκαια, 'and since the letter was drafted a long time ago, before the matter was heard in your court, when (Lucilla?) came before you represented by (her?) son Herodes and you delivered some pronouncements, ordering us to appeal and go before Honoratus, to whom we shall submit the rights that are ours'.

10 διελάλησας. In spite of the note to XVI **1829** 4 explaining that διαλαλία and διαλαλεῖν technically refer to an 'investigation' before a magistrate, all the passages cited in the dictionaries seem to suggest that they are used rather of solemn pronouncements, sometimes with an additional notion of commanding.

δι̣.̣[. Not δι' ὧν; possibly διᾳ̣.[or δι' ᾷ̣ .[.

12 Ὀνωρᾶτον. See introd. The future verb immediately following makes it quite clear that he was still in office at the date of this document.

12–13 The main clause probably begins here with something like ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ βιβλίδια | [13] ἀξι]ο̣ῦ̣ντες, 'we submit the petition requesting . . .'. The continuation is much more dubious. Perhaps it was something like τὴν συνήθη ὑπ̣[οσημείωσιν ἐκδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, 'that the customary subscription be issued to us', cf. P. Lips. 33 ii 17. Note that there does seem to be an official subscription at the foot of this document (24–6).

14 στρ]ατηγόν. Cf. 6 n., but ἐπι|στρ]άτηγον is also at least a theoretical possibility, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 44.

ἐπιστολιμε̂α (l. -αῖα) γράμματα. The phrase occurs twice in Philo (*De Josepho*, 168; *In Flaccum*, 109), and seems to mean no more than 'letter'; ἐπιστολιμαῖος is new in the papyri. It is not quite clear that the letter is, or is to be, directed to the strategus (πρὸς τὸν στρατηγόν?), but that seems most likely.

πρὸς τὸ ᾳ̣[perhaps introduced an articular infinitive, the construction being equivalent to a final or consecutive clause, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 861(1).

15–16 This passage was evidently about the surety required in cases of appeal, cf. N. Lewis in *Le Monde grec* (*Hommages à C. Préaux*), 762–3. In one of two cases in papyri the surety of 1,062½ drachmas was made up of a basic 1,000 dr. plus additional charges (προσδιαγραφόμενα) of $\frac{1}{16}$ or 6¼% amounting to 62½ dr. (P. Achmim 8. 37–9); in the other the surety of 2,125 dr. is twice the amount in P. Achmim 8 and can clearly be regarded as made up in the same proportions of a basic 2,000 dr. plus 125 dr. (see CPR V 5. 3 n.). The sum here, 4,625 dr., cannot easily be divided in those proportions. No clear deduction can be made, but it is tempting to think that somehow the progress of inflation is reflected in these figures. The simplest hypothesis would be to divide the sum into a round 4,000 plus 625 extra charges, which would mean that the rate had risen from $\frac{1}{16}$ (or 6¼%) to $\frac{5}{32}$ (or 15⅝ %).

There is also doubt about how many persons this surety covers. The figures here may be for each individual or for several together. In CPR V 5 the guarantors are paired and it is not clear if each is held responsible for 2,000 dr. plus charges or if they share the obligation.

Still less is it clear why the sum is stated here. The appearance of stipulation clauses at the foot may suggest that there is some element of contractual agreement about this document, even though it seems to be cast in the form of a petition, cf. 23 n.

17 *καὶ καθ' ἕνα ὡμολογήσαμεν.* This looks like part of a stipulation clause in some such form as *ἐπερωτηθέντες ὑφ' ἓν καὶ καθ' ἕνα ὡμολογήσαμεν*, 'the formal question having been put to us together and severally we gave our consent.' For *ὑφ' ἓν καὶ καθ' ἕνα* cf. I **94** 12 *ἤτοι ὑφ' ἓν ἢ καθ' ἕνα*, but I cannot claim to have seen any similar addition to a stipulation clause. Cf. 22–3 n.

17–19 For the imperial titles see e.g. XXXVIII **2855** 18–24. Here 46 letters are lost in 17 and 43 in 18, equivalent to just over half the width of the document.

20–1 Cf. 2–3 n., 6 n.

20 *του̣[*. Some possibilities are (1) a patronymic, e.g. *Τούρ[βωνος*, (2) an alias, i.e. *τοῦ κ̣[αί . . .*, (3) a description, e.g. *τοῦ ἐ̣π̣[ιτρόπου* or *τοῦ π̣[ροκειμένου*. The trace is too tiny to allow any choice.

21 Very probably restore *ἐπ̣[ερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν vel sim.*, cf. 17, 23.

22–3 Restore probably *ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ* |[23] *ἐπερ]ωτηθεῖσα ὡμολ[όγησα*, cf. 21 and n. The stipulation clause is very rarely used in documents drafted in petition form, see D. Simon, *Studien z. Praxis d. Stipulationsklausel*, 51–2 (on p. 52, n. 48, correct Herm. 77 to refer to SPP V 74). Simon's four examples are applications for payment. This may suggest that here the passage in 15–16 relating to caution money was the essential part of the document, see 15–16 n.

24–6 This does not look like the subscription of a petitioner or amanuensis, and, in spite of printed appearances, the remains in 26 do not suit *ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος* (*vel sim.*) *γ]ρ̣ά̣[μ]ματα*. It looks much more like an official subscription containing instructions to apply elsewhere—*προσέλθατε̣* [(25), cf. 12–13 n. In 24 *ἐκλ̣[* may represent *ἔκ⟨κ⟩λ̣[ητον*, but need not.

3297. Notice to serve as a Cosmetes

17 2B.63/G (d) 7 × 12·5 cm. Shortly before 11 January, A.D. 294?

Similar documents to this are XLIV **3182** (gymnasiarch, A.D. 257), **3293** (cosmetes, *c.* A.D. 262–5), VI **891** (exegetes, A.D. 294), and P. Ant. I 31 (cosmetes, A.D. 347). Unfortunately the exact wording of **3297** cannot yet be restored, because none of these is an exact parallel. In fact, though each of the five documents is basically a notification that the recipient will shortly be required to serve as a magistrate, they come from at least four different sources.

In **3297** the source is the prytanis. In **891** it is the council with the prytanis acting as intermediary. This is probably only a formal difference and indeed the prytanis is the same in both. In **3293** the sender is the strategus. In P. Ant. 31 the sender is the logistes and in **3182** his identity is not known, though the wording makes it clear that he was not the prytanis and **3293** rather suggests that he was the strategus.

On the cosmetes see E. L. de Kock, *Die Kosmeet in Egipte*, (diss. Leiden, 1948).

The back is blank.

Αὐρήλιος] *Κορνηλιανὸς διασημότατος*
ἔναρχος π]*ρύτανις τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ-*
προτάτη]*ς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως*
. . . . . .] *Τρύφωνι Διονυσίου*
5 . . . . .].. *τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.*

.....]ρχειν τὸν τῆς κοσμητείας
στέφ]ανον ἀπὸ ις⁻ Τῦβι ἕως λ⁻
τοῦ αὐ]τ̣ο̣ῦ μηνὸς ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις
.....] πανήγυρις, ἡμέρας ιε⁻,
10 ..... πρ]όνοιαν πάντων τῶν
τῇ ἀρχῇ] διαφερόντων
ἐπιστέλλ]εταί σοι, φίλτατε,
c. 8. (m. 2) ἐρ]ρῶσθαί σε εὔχ(ομαι), φίλτατε.

13 ευχ′

'Aurelius Cornelianus, *vir perfectissimus*, prytanis in office of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites to [Aurelius?] Tryphon son of Dionysius . . ., his dearest colleague, greeting. [Since it is necessary for you to hold?] the office of cosmetes from 16th Tybi to the 30th of the same month, in which days . . . festival, for (a total of) 15 days, and to attend to everything which concerns [the magistracy, notice is sent] to you, dearest colleague, [for your information?]. (2nd hand) I pray for your health, dearest colleague.'

1 The prytanis is the same as in **891**, where we must now read in line 7 διασ̅η̅, i.e. διασ̅η(μοτάτου), in spite of the understandable doubts of the first editors. On the diffusion of the perfectissimate in this period and more especially later under Constantine see *RE* xix 668 ff., cf. XLIII **3124** 1–2 n. Some time before A.D. 317 councillors who had performed all the public duties of their native city could acquire the perfectissimate by application to an emperor, see C. Theod. XII i 5. Possibly this is the explanation of the unexpected rank of this prytanis, though one can only guess.

The date of **891** is A.D. 294, though the reading of the consular date clause needs revision in some details. The *ed. pr.* has in lines 1–3

[Ἐφ' ὑ]πάτων Ο̣ὐ̣α̣λ̣ερίῳ̣ Κω̣ν-
[c]τ̣α̣ν̣τ̣[ίο]υ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Μ̣α̣ξ̣ι̣μ̣ι̣α̣[νοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων

I was able to inspect the papyrus, which is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark MS. Gr. class. f. 89 (P), and propose the following version of lines 1–2:

[ἐπὶ ὑ]π̣άτων τ̣ῷ̣ν̣ κ̣υρίων ἡμῷ̣[ν
[Κων]σ̣τ̣α̣ν̣τ̣ί̣[ο]υ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Μ̣α̣ξ̣ι̣μ̣ι̣α̣νο̣ῦ̣

Compare SB VI 9044. 13. It is worth adding that the end of line 3 appears to be complete and that there is no space anywhere to restore at the end of the formula τὸ γ′ or τὸ ε′, which would turn the date clause into that of A.D. 300 (cf. XLIII **3141**) or A.D. 305 (cf. XLIII **3143**). For A.D. 299/300 a different prytanis is already attested, see XLIV **3187**; A.D. 304/5 is still vacant.

The prytanis was appointed for an annual term, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 61–5. Cornelianus, therefore, was the prytanis for A.D. 293/4, and there is a reasonable chance that **3297** also dates from this year, though it is quite possible that Cornelianus served more than once in this office. Since the period of the cosmetes' activity is given as 16–30 Tybi = 11–25 January, this document probably dates from shortly before 11 January of whatever year is in question, see **3293** 13–14 n., although **3293** is itself dated on the same day as the beginning of the cosmetes' term of office.

4 Supply probably *Αὐρηλίῳ*, but some other *nomen* is possible.

5 .....]... Probably we should assume that the line was indented and read simply κοσμη]τ̣ῇ, cf. **3293** 4–5. The reading is complicated by damage and by a descender from the rho of *Τρύφωνι* in the line above.

6]ρχειν. If it were not for the fact that the rounded trace before χ and the long descender visible in the next line strongly suggest ρ, there would be a temptation to satisfy sense and space by restoring [δέον σε] ἔχειν τόν . . . [στέφ]ανον . . . | [10] [καὶ τὴν πρ]όνοιαν . . . The sense could also be represented by

restoring [δόξαν coι ὑπά]ρχειν τόν . . . [cτέφ]ανον . . . | 10 [καὶ τὴν πρ]όνοιαν . . ., but that is too long for line 6, unless it was in ecthesis, which seems improbable. Alternatively [δέον cε ἄ]ρχειν τόν . . . [cτέφ]ανον is perhaps a tolerable expression, cf. X **1252** verso 16 for cτέφανοc in the sense of 'office', but then it is not convincing simply to tack on [καὶ τὴν πρ]όνοιαν and space for another verb to govern πρόνοιαν is hard to find. In the circumstances the translation given above can only be a makeshift approximating to the right sense. Cf. **3293** 11–13 for the natural expression ἀναδήcαcθαι τὸν τῆc κοcμητείαc cτέφανον.

By way of conjecture Mr. Parsons suggests περὶ τοῦ cὲ ἄ]ρχειν (in ecthesis) . . . [ἵνα ποῇ πρ]όνοιαν . . . [ἐπιcτέλλ]εταί coι, 'Concerning your term of office . . . so that you may attend (to everything) . . . notice is sent to you.'

7 16–30 Tybi = 11–25 January, cf. 1 n.

9 Perhaps restore [ἐcτιν], but this word could easily be dispensed with; a name or description of the festival is equally likely.

In all probability the festival is the one mentioned in XVII **2127** 4 and in I **42** 3. The first passage records a payment apparently made in Pachon in respect of a festival held in Tybi, which involved a sacrifice conducted in the theatre. In I **42** (= W. *Chr.* 154) an official gave notice of a display by ephebes which was to take place next day on 24 Tybi = 19 January, A.D. 323 and somehow provide a διπλῆ τέρψιc.

It is not clear from the interrupted text of 8–9 whether the festival occupied the whole of the period of office or, as seems more likely, only part of it. Nor is it clear from **42** whether the ephebic display was part of the festival or a separate and later event. The phrase ἡ προάγουcα πανήγυριc gave some difficulty to the first editors and was translated as 'the distinguished character of the festival' in spite of a note showing uneasiness and their recognition that προάγουcα ought to mean 'previous', see already WB s.v. προάγω (5). However, even with this accepted the situation is still not clear. It seems that there are three possibilities. The most attractive to me is that 'the previous festival', which was over by 23 Tybi = 18 January, involved the ephebes, and their display of 24 Tybi = 19 January, not connected with the festival, would give the spectators 'a double pleasure'. Secondly, 'the previous festival' might mean the same event in the previous year, but the promise of a διπλῆ τέρψιc tells against that. Lastly, and more remotely, ἡ προάγουcα πανήγυριc might possibly mean 'the festival up to now', 'the earlier part of the festival', in which case the display of 19 January would have been part of a celebration covering these two days and an unspecified period before them.

It is uncertain how much weight we should give to the fact that the ephebes were the particular concern of the cosmetes.

For other references to festivities in Tybi cf. *CÉ* 43 (1968) 344, line 5 with notes on 348–9, *CÉ* 49 (1974) 376 and n. 2.

11 Cf. **3293** 18 n.

12 Cf. VI **891** 17.

13 There is space to restore ἵν' εἰδῇc, following the lines of **891** 16–17 ἵνα τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἔχοιc, ἐπιcτέλλεταί coι, but the beginning of the line might have been blank.

There is a presumption that the subscriptions of both **891** and **3297** are by Aurelius Cornelianus and indeed it seems likely that they are by the same hand, which uses, however, a broader pen in **891** 18–19.

3298. Horoscopes and Magic Spell

38 3B.81/J(1–3)a 19×7 cm. Later third century

The lingering notoriety of the emperor Elagabalus is illustrated by the rare and opprobrious term, κόρυφοc, 'catamite', applied to him in the date clause of one of these horoscopes, see 2 n. This description of him has been referred to by Dr. T. D.

Barnes in his article 'Ultimus Antoninorum' (*Bonner HA Colloquium* 10 (1972) 53–74) p. 53. In **3299** the disapproval is less colourfully expressed by calling him *ἀνόcιος Ἀντωνῖνος μικρός*. Official disapproval of Elagabalus resulted in a *damnatio memoriae*, which has manifested itself in the erasure of his name from some inscriptions (e.g. *ILS* I 466, 468, 470–2; SB VIII 9997. 65). The references in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 106–7, do not lead to any instance of the erasure of his name in the papyri, but there exists one example in a forthcoming papyrus, inv. 69/19(a). Various interrelated periphrases are employed to allude to his reign in the papyri of subsequent reigns. Two papyri of 13 Severus Alexander (A.D. 233/4) describe A.D. 220/1 by this method: *τῷ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου μεγάλου αὐτοκρατορ[εία]ν δ ἔτει* (P. Flor. I 56. 12–13); *τῷ μετὰ τὸ κε (ἔτος) θεοῦ Cεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου δ (ἔτει)* (P. Lips. 6. 16). The same method is used to refer to A.D. 221/2 in P. Mich. inv. 1935. 10 *(τ]ῷ ε (ἔτει) τῆc μετὰ θεὸν Cεο[υῆ]ρον Ἀντωνῖνον βαcιλίαc)*, and this papyrus dates from summer A.D. 272, in the reign of Aurelian. (The papyrus will be published in a Ph.D. thesis for the University of Michigan by Mr. Vincent P. McCarren, who very kindly communicated the text to me in advance of publication.) Similar is the use of *τῆc προαγούcηc βαcιλείαc* in P. Hamb. I 18 i 3–4, ii 3, 8, 13, see the introduction there, p. 79.

In this connection it should be observed that the *θεὸc Ἀντωνῖνοc* in XXVII **2746** 11 is Caracalla, see n. ad loc., and not Elagabalus as implied by P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 107.

The date of the latest of the horoscopes gives a *terminus post quem* for the papyrus of A.D. 249/250, see line 22 and n. The hand looks as if it belongs still to the third century.

The foot of the sheet is lost. On the front, where the writing runs along the fibres, the left edge looks as if it has suffered very little damage and there are tops of two columns with a few complete lines as well as the beginnings of lines from a third column. On the other side there are complete lines only in the second column, to the right of which is a blank space *c.* 8·5 cm. wide. A few ends from a preceding column also survive.

Probably all the writing is by the same person, though the first two columns on the front and the first three lines of the third are in a good cursive, flowing but careful, while the rest is far more rapid and careless.

The second horoscope was cast for the son of the man named in the first. It is also noticeable that the first horoscope gives positions in degrees and minutes inside the zodiacal signs, while the second gives only the names of the signs. The others are too damaged to compare. The final, much damaged, item was a spell to conjure up a dream.

The impression given is that this sheet is not the work of a serious astrologer, so to speak, but rather of a person interested in the fates of particular people. He probably collected the horoscopes rather than cast them himself.

Professor Neugebauer was kind enough to make accurate modern computations for the horoscopes, which have been added in round brackets at the appropriate points in the translation.

i

γένεσις Ἀπολιναρίου
β (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου τοῦ κορύφ(ου)
Παχὼν κβ⁻ νυκτὸ(ς) εἰς
κγ⁻ ὥρᾳ ζ ε̣χ̣θ̣( )
ὡροσκό(πος) Ἰχθύσι μοιρ(ῶν) ϛ
]υ̣ρ̣μ̣ο̣υ̣ Ζεὺς Ἰχθύσι μοιρ(ῶν) β λε(πτῶν) ιη
Σελήνη Τοξότῃ μοιρ(ῶν) γ
Κρ]ό̣ν̣[ος Σ]κ̣ο̣ρ̣π̣ί̣ῳ̣ [.....]..
. . . . .

ii

Σεουήρου υἱοῦ ὁμοί(ως)
ϛ (ἔτους) Γορδιανοῦ Φαῶφι ζ
ν̣υκτὸς εἰς η⁻ ὥρ(ᾳ)
ε⁻ ἀρχῆς
Ἥλιος καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ζυγῷ
ὡροσκό(πος) Διδύμοις
[Κρ]όνος ἀρχὰς Παρθένου
[Ἄ]ρ̣ης Σ̣κ̣[ορ]π̣ί̣ῳ̣
c. 12].ῳ̣
. . . . .

iii

γένες(ις) Δη[
γ (ἔτους) Φιλίπ[πων
εἰς κα⁻ ν[
γένεσις Ἀμμ[
α (ἔτους) Δεκίου ..[
α⁻ ἡμέ[ρας
ὡροσκ[όπος
Ἀφροδ[ίτη
Ζεὺ[ς
Κρό[νος
..[
. . . . .

2 βϛ, κορυφ′ 3 νυκτ° 4 ε̣χ̣θ̣ 5 ωροσκο), μοιρ′ 6 μοιρ′, λε) 7 μοιρ′ 9 ομο^{t}
10 ϛϛ 11 ὡ monogram 14 ωροσκο) 18 γενες′ 19 γϛ 22 αϛ

i

Back].

30 ὥ]ρα ζ–

] (vac.)

] (vac.)

] Ἀφροδίτης

] (vac.)

35]..

]..ι

]..

. . . . .

ii

ς (ἔτους) Γορδιανοῦ, Τῦβι ις

ὥρα β′ ἡμέρας ἀρχ(ῆς)

40 γένεις Ϛαβείνου Ἴσειτος

ὀνειρετηςία (vac.)

γρ(άψον) τὸ ὄνο(μα) ..... χαρτάριον

ἢ εἰς φύλλ[ο]ν .....ς καὶ ἐπι.[...]ας

δι.ανα..[.]....[..]..τη[..]....[

. . . . .

38 ϛϛ, τυβιϊς 39 αρχ′ 40 ϊσειτος 41 l. ὀνειραιτηςία 42 γ^ρ, ονδ

'Birth of Apolinarius. Year 2 of Antoninus the catamite, Pachon 22, night before 23, 7th hour. Horoscope, Pisces 6°; Jupiter, Pisces 2° 18′ (340° = Pisces 10°); Moon, Sagittarius 3° (244° = Sagittarius 4°); Saturn, Scorpio . . . (225° = Scorpio 15°).'

'Of Severus his son likewise. Year 6 of Gordian, Phaophi 7, night before 8, 5th hour beginning. Sun and Mercury, Libra (191° & 206° = Libra 11° & 26°); Horoscope, Gemini; Saturn, beginning of Virgo (161° = Virgo 11°); Mars, Scorpio . . . (212° = Scorpio 2°).'

'Birth of De . . . Year 3 of the Philips . . . (night) before 21 . . .'

'Birth of Amm . . . Year 1 of Decius . . . first (hour) of the day. Horoscope, . . .; Venus, . . .; Jupiter, . . .; Saturn, . . .' 38 ff. 'Year 6 of Gordian, Tybi 16, 2nd hour of the day beginning. Birth of Sabinus son of Isis.'

'Request for a dream. Write the name (either on?) a piece of papyrus or on a leaf of . . .'

2 κορύφ(ου). See *LSJ* s.v. κόρυφος III, where it is defined from Theoc. 4. 62 Schol. as an Alexandrian word equivalent to ὁ ὡς κόρη οἰφώμενος. Other derivations are given in *Et. M.* 531. 23. The word has remained unrecognized in a previous occurrence in a horoscope on papyrus dated by Elagabalus, see *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffiths*, 235 = P. Warren 21. 51 = O. Neugebauer, H. B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, No. 219 II 1 (p. 56). The plate in P. Warren (No. VII) is not entirely clear. Hunt's description in the note suggests that we should read κορυ) = κορύ(φου); the note in *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 56—κορυ' or κορυο'—might encourage us to read κορυφ = κορύφ(ου), on the assumption that the phi was a cursive one with the roundel wholly to the left of the upright. I rather favour the first, but, whichever version is right, at least the word cannot now be in doubt.

The doubt still persists, however, for III **596** = *Greek Horoscopes*, No. 139 (Plate in C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 16c). The date is given in *Greek Horoscopes* as β αντωνινου κ[αιcαρος] του κορ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣ and

the last word is interpreted as the equivalent of *κυρίου*. The beginning *κο-* is clear and from the published plate *κορ̣ύ̣φ̣ο̣υ̣* would seem to be a possible reading, but computation for this date does not help to resolve the difficulties which abound in this text and the other on the same sheet, see *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 45–7, and the presence of *K[αίcαροc]* tends to confirm that *κυρίου* is intended. Possibly *κοι̣ρ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣* would be an easier phonetic error for *κυρίου*, cf. Mayser–Schmoll I i p. 90.

The word may have occurred also in P. Tebt. II 414, where a woman writes to her sister *πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομαί cε ὑγιαίνιν* (l. *-ειν*) *καὶ τὰ παιδία cου κα[ὶ] Πᾶcιν τὸν κόρυφον* (5–7), though the editors (7 n.) did not apparently realize this possibility and *LSJ* s.v. II shows a natural tendency to shy away from such a meaning in that context; not so, however, H. Maehler in *GRBS* 15 (1974) 307 n. 3.

2–3 The date is equivalent to 17/18 May, A.D. 219.

4 *ἐ̣χ̣θ̣( )*. This notation has been added in a cursive hand and is blotted badly. It therefore looks superficially different from the rest, but seems to be the same hand still. It may represent some part of *ἐχθρόc*, referring to the doctrine of hostile places and stars, see *Greek Horoscopes*, 83–4. If so, it is unusual. Most horoscopes give only data related to astronomical facts, see ibid. p. 162.

5 There is a short rising oblique stroke in the left margin. Also possible is the form *ὡροcκο(πεῖ)*.

6 The cursive marginal notation *]υ̣ρ̣μ̣ο̣υ̣*, which is underlined, is followed by a round blot in a fainter ink. The first surviving letter does not look like *ε*; not that *Ἑρμοῦ* would make any obvious sense. Words ending in *-υρμόc* in Kretschmer–Locker, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Sprache*, offer no help, though *cυρμόc* can apparently mean the track of a meteor.

8 The traces at the end of the line are raised. Possibly the first is part of the oblique stroke used to abbreviate *μοιρ(ῶν)* and the second a flourish on a figure such as *γ* or *ϛ*.

10–11 The date is equivalent to 4/5 October, A.D. 242.

15 *ἀρχὰc Παρθένου*. Cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, No. 293 VIII (= XII **1565**) 8, *Κρόνοc [Δ]ι̣[δ]ύμοιc ἀρχάc*. Computation puts Saturn actually in Taurus 29° = 59°. Gemini begins at 60°.

For the present case the tables for A.D. 242 in B. Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar, and Solar Positions A.D. 2 to A.D. 1649*, place Saturn *c.* 160–161°, i.e. midway in Virgo, which covers 150–180°. For such a slow-moving planet this implies a largish error. On the same day in the previous year Saturn was *c.* 149°, which would be very like the parallel case cited above. This date would also suit the data given for the Sun and Mercury, but would not suit Mars in Scorpio. Scorpio is right for A.D. 242, but in 241 Mars was in the beginning of Cancer.

It is not clear whether *ἀρχάc* implies that there was any real computation behind the data. It might be that the compiler simply found when he looked up the planetary tables (cf. **3299**) for the birth date in question that this was on or very shortly after the date given in the table for the entry of Saturn into Virgo. If this was the method followed, the compiler's eye may have strayed to the column for the previous year at this point.

17 *c.* 12 *]̣ω̣*. The trace is a mere dot of ink from the top of a letter. Possible are *[Cελήνη Καρκί]̣ν̣ω̣*, *[Ζεὺc Ὑδρηχ]ό̣ω̣*, and *[Ἀφροδίτη Παρθέ]̣ν̣ω̣*. The last is perhaps too long.

19 The year is A.D. 245/6.

20 *ν[*. This looks like *νυκτόc*, but in 3 and 11 *νυκτόc* falls after the first of the two days concerned, not after the second.

22 The year is A.D. 249/250, a *terminus post quem* for the document, see introd.

24 Cf. 5 and n., 14.

28 Either *Ἄ̣ρ̣[ηc* or *Ἑ̣ρ̣[μῆc* could fit the traces; *Ἥλιοc* and *Cελήνη* could not.

33 The genitive of a planet name would be odd. Perhaps it was simply *γένεcιc] Ἀφροδίτηc*, i.e. a woman's name, in which case the entry above was a truncated one like those in 18–20, 38–40.

36 Possibly *Ἰχθ]ύ̣c̣ι*.

38 The date is equivalent to 11 January, A.D. 243.

41 For the word *ὀνειραιτηcία* cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I 329; for similar spells cf. ibid. XII 144–52, VII 359–69, 703–26, and others in the index under *ὀνειραιτητόν*; one with specifically astrological terminology is VII 795–845. The traces here do not suit the commoner form *ὀνειραιτητόν*.

42 The *ὄνομα* would be a magic incantation, probably given below. Very possibly *ἢ ε̣ἰ̣c̣* should be read, but it has not been verified and the tiny traces cover rather a wide space for only four letters.

43 After *φύλλ[ο]ν̣* we need the name of a plant, e.g. *δάφνηc*, *ἐλαίαc*, *περcέαc*, and others in *PGM* Index s.v. *φύλλον* (Vol. iii p. 198).

3299. Planetary Tables for A.D. 217–225

6 1B.8/B(d) 10·5 × 12 cm. Later 3rd century?

This fragment comes probably from the top of a leaf of a codex, since the recto bears the page number 5 and the verso the page number 6, both placed centrally. The next line on each side consists of the name of an emperor in the genitive, Elagabalus on page 5 and Severus Alexander on page 6. The description of Elagabalus as *ἀνοσίου Ἀντωνίνου μικροῦ* can be compared with **3298** 2 and introd. Then come four columns of figures headed by the numbers of regnal years, one to four in both cases. These are of course conventional designations of the Graeco-Egyptian years beginning on 29 August or 30 August in the years beginning just before Julian leap years. In this system an emperor is assigned the whole of the year in which he acceded as his year 1. Elagabalus acceded in summer A.D. 218, so here the Alexandrian year A.D. 217/8 is called 1 Elagabalus; 4 Elagabalus is A.D. 220/1, his last complete year. He died 11 March, A.D. 222 and therefore lived for a good part of a fifth regnal year, but the Alexandrian year A.D. 221/2 is called here 1 Severus Alexander because he acceded in the course of it.

Luckily similar planetary tables in Greek and demotic Egyptian exist to throw light on the columns of figures below, see O. Neugebauer, H. B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 172–3, adding to the list the texts subsequently published by Professor Neugebauer in *CÉ* 47 (1972) 224–6, with ibid. 32 (1957) 269–72; *ZPE* 11 (1973) 101–14.

The tables were to be used to cast horoscopes and they are intended to show in which sign of the zodiac each planet was on any day of the year. Each line of a column contains, in principle, three sets of figures, each of which may consist of either one or two digits. The first gives the month, the second the day, and the third a number representing one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Where there are two entries for the same month, the figure for the month is omitted from the second entry.

The figures for the Alexandrian months of thirty days range between 1 and 12, *α* and *ιβ*, though probably the intercalary days, the Epagomenae, would have been represented by *ιγ*, see *CÉ* 47 (1972) 225, Text A II 18. The figures for the days run between 1 and 30, *α* and *λ*, those for the zodiacal sign range between 1 and 12, *α* and *ιβ*, and comparison with modern tables shows that sign 1 is Virgo, the sign in which the sun moved at the beginning of the Graeco-Egyptian year when the Alexandrian reform of the calendar took place, see *CÉ* 47 (1972) 224.

Most entries give the day on which the planet in question moved into the sign indicated from another. In the first entry for each planet, however, its position on the first day of the year is usually given.

The planets are not named. Since the data are given in the conventional order, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, see *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 164, it was sufficient to separate them by drawing lines across the columns. All above the first line refers to Saturn, all between the first and second lines refers to Jupiter, and so on.

The only feature not found in one or other of the parallel texts is the sensibly convenient arrangement of reserving a separate column for each year.

Since there are no remains of the other half of a double leaf, there is no proof that the fragment comes from a codex, but that is the most likely hypothesis and upon it some calculations can be made.

The parallel tables have data only for the five planets mentioned above and there are traces here of the entry for the last one, Mercury, which should occupy about 12 to 15 lines, in only two columns. Adding these to the *c.* 30 lines surviving and allowing for a bottom margin we may conclude that the page was probably half as tall again or a little more, say in all *c.* 18–20 cm. This is a fairly normal format for a papyrus codex, corresponding to Group 8 in E. G. Turner's classification, see *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 20–1, 24, at least as far as the proportions of height and breadth are concerned, though the dimensions are rather smaller than normal.

Comparing page numbers and the standard layout on both sides we may calculate that the four pages missing at the beginning of the book can have contained the data for sixteen years at the most, less if there was preliminary matter. Therefore the tables cannot have begun earlier than A.D. 201/2 and cannot have extended back into the period covered by the other extant tables on papyrus.

If this manuscript was a codex, its minimum capacity was three double leaves, making twelve pages in all. If the tables continued on the same plan, the last year on page 12 would have been A.D. 248/9. I had thought that, if the tables were intended for ordinary use, it was likely that they covered the extreme span of human life, say eighty or a hundred years. On this basis one might have calculated a likely date for the book at *c.* A.D. 280 to 300. Nothing in the palaeography contradicts this, though it would be uncomfortable to have to bring it very much later than A.D. 300. Tables for this period of time would occupy about twenty-five pages, say seven double leaves. However, Professor Neugebauer is sceptical of the romantic idea that the tables were based on the span of a lifetime. He writes in a letter, 'I have never seen tables adjusted to the length of human life. Much more plausible are planetary periods, e.g. 60 years, common for Saturn, Jupiter, not too bad for Mars.' Tables for sixty years would occupy only fifteen sides in a book of this format, say four double leaves. Of course other matter might well have been incorporated in the same volume.

Table A below gives the Greek numerals for the months of the Alexandrian calendar and their Julian equivalents. A more extensive and more convenient table for turning individual Alexandrian dates into Julian dates is given in P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques*, facing p. 9. Table B gives the Greek numerals for the signs of the zodiac, with the range of degrees assigned to each, by which their positions are defined in B. Tuckerman, *Planetary, Lunar, and Solar Positions A.D. 2 to A.D. 1649*.

TABLE A

			Leap Year[1]
α	Thoth	29 Aug.–27 Sept.	30 Aug.–28 Sept.
β	Phaophi	28 Sept.–27 Oct.	29 Sept.–28 Oct.
γ	Hathyr	28 Oct.–26 Nov.	29 Oct.–27 Nov.
δ	Choeac	27 Nov.–26 Dec.	28 Nov.–27 Dec.
ε	Tybi	27 Dec.–25 Jan.	28 Dec.–26 Jan.
ς	Mecheir	26 Jan.–24 Feb.	27 Jan.–25 Feb.
ζ	Phamenoth	25 Feb.–26 Mar.	26 Feb.–26 Mar.[2]
η	Pharmuthi	27 Mar.–25 Apr.	
θ	Pachon	26 Apr.–25 May	
ι	Payni	26 May–24 June	
ια	Epeiph	25 June–24 July	
ιβ	Mesore	25 July–23 Aug.	
ιγ	Epagomenae	24 Aug.–28 Aug.	24 Aug.–29 Aug.

TABLE B

α	(Virgo)	150–180°
β	(Libra)	180–210°
γ	(Scorpio)	210–240°
δ	(Sagittarius)	240–270°
ε	(Capricorn)	270–300°
ς	(Aquarius)	300–330°
ζ	(Pisces)	330–360°
η	(Aries)	1–30°
θ	(Taurus)	30–60°
ι	(Gemini)	60–90°
ια	(Cancer)	90–120°
ιβ	(Leo)	120–150°

In the translation exclamation marks after the name of a zodiacal sign warn that the entry does not agree with the modern tables of Tuckerman. Many of these disagreements can nevertheless be accepted as the result of differences between the ancient and modern calculations. It is suggested in many of the notes that larger discrepancies derive from errors of copying, but a convincing solution of this type cannot always be found.

Professor Neugebauer has been kind enough to give his expert advice on a typescript and has made valuable corrections at several places. He points out also that the exclamation marks in the translation may give a misleading impression of the quality of the text, which is really in unusually good agreement with modern computation.

[1] An extra intercalary day (Epagomenae 6) is added in the summer preceding a Julian leap year i.e. in years whose A.D. numbers when divided by four leave a remainder of three.

[2] Phamenoth 5 is always equivalent to 1 March.

ϵ

] ἀνοσίου Ἀντωνίνου μικροῦ

]α (ἔτους)

]α̣ α β
]γ ς γ
ι ια β
ια ια γ

α α δ
γ δ ϵ
ς κη ς

α α ιβ
β ζ α
γ κς β
ϵ [ι]ζ γ
ζ] ιθ δ
ι]α ια̣ [γ]
ι]β ς δ

α ιβ α
β̣ ς β
. . . . .

β (ἔτους)

α α γ

α α ς
ζ η ζ

α α δ
κθ ϵ
γ ζ ς
δ ιϵ ζ
ϵ κς η
ζ ζ θ
η κγ ι
ι θ ια
ια κζ ιβ

α α α
γ θ β
δ ιγ γ
ϵ η δ
ς γ ϵ
κς ς
ζ κβ ζ
η ιζ η
θ ια θ
ι ϵ ι
κθ ια̣
ια κ[ιβ]
ιβ ιη [α

α α α
κθ [β
. . . . .

γ (ἔτους)

α α γ

α α ζ
ζ κδ η

α α ιβ
η α
γ β β
δ κ γ
ς β δ
ζ ις ϵ
θ ς ς
ια γ ζ
ιβ ις ς

α ς β
λ γ
β κϵ δ
γ κ ϵ
δ ιδ ς
ϵ ιβ ζ
ς θ η
ζ κβ θ
ια ιζ ι
ιβ ια ια

α α̣ β
. . . . .

δ (ἔτους)

α α γ

γ θ δ

α α η
η ια θ

α α ς
γ ζ ζ
ϵ γ η
ς ις θ
ζ λ ι
θ ιθ ια
ια ια ιβ
ιβ κϵ α

α α ιβ
κς α
β κα β
γ ιϵ γ
δ ι δ
ϵ δ ϵ
κθ ς
ς ιβ ζ
ζ ιϵ η
η ι θ
θ ϵ ι
κθ̣ ια
ι] κδ ιβ
ι]α̣ ι̣θ̣ α̣
. . . . .

3 αϛ″ 20 βϛ″ 48 γϛ″ 72 δϛ″

ς

100 Ἀλεξάνδρου

α (ἔτους)

α α δ
α α θ
ζ κθ ι
105 α α α
β θ β
γ κζ γ
ε ε δ
ς κα ε
110 ζ κθ ς
θ ζ ζ
ι κδ η
ιβ κδ θ
α α β
115 ς γ
ε η δ
ς ια ε
ζ ιβ ς
η ζ ζ
120 θ β η
κς θ
ι κα ι
ια ιε ια
ιβ ι ιβ
125]α̣[
. . . . .

β (ἔτους)

α α δ
ε κ ε
ια ια δ
130 α ιβ ια
γ κζ ι
θ ιη ια
α α θ
κζ η
135 ε κβ θ
ζ ιβ ι
η κζ ια
ι ιθ ιβ
ιβ α α
140 α κβ β
β ις γ
γ ι δ
δ ε ε
κθ ς
145 ε ιδ ζ
ς ιθ η
ζ ιδ θ
η θ [ι
. . . . .

γ (ἔτους)

150 α α δ
β ι. ε
α α ια
β ς ιβ
ε ς ια
155 ι ιθ ιβ
α α α
ιθ β
γ δ γ
δ ιε δ
160 ε κζ ε
ζ γ ς
η ιγ ζ
θ κ η
ια δ θ
165 ιβ λ ι
α α ια
ια ιβ
β θ α
γ δ β
170 κθ γ
δ κα̣ δ
ε̣ .[.] ε
]ς
]ζ
175]η
]. θ
. . . . .

δ (ἔτους)

α α ε
α α ιβ
180 γ ιδ α
ε α ιβ
ια ιθ α
α α ι
ζ ε ια
185 θ κζ ιβ
ια κ α
α α β
ιζ γ
β ιβ δ
190 γ [.] ε
δ ιγ ς
κε ε
ζ α ς
η̣ [
. . . . .

101 ας″ 126 βς″ 149 γς″ 177 δς″

'Page 5.'
'Unholy little Antoninus.'
'Year 1.'

'Saturn	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 217)	Libra
	Hathyr	6	(2 Nov. 217)	Scorpio
	Payni	11	(5 June 218)	Libra(!)
	Epeiph	11	(5 July 218)	Scorpio
Jupiter	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 217)	Sagittarius
	Hathyr	4	(31 Oct. 217)	Capricorn(!)
	Mecheir	28	(22 Feb. 218)	Aquarius(!)
Mars	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 217)	Leo
	Phaophi	7	(4 Oct. 217)	Virgo(!)
	Hathyr	26	(22 Nov. 217)	Libra
	Tybi	17	(12 Jan. 218)	Scorpio(!)
	Phamenoth	19	(15 Mar. 218)	Sagittarius
	Epeiph	11	(5 July 218)	Scorpio(!)
	Mesore	6	(30 July 218)	Sagittarius
Venus	Thoth	12	(9 Sept. 217)	Virgo
	Phaophi	6	(3 Oct. 217)	Libra'

'Year 2.'

'Saturn	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 218)	Scorpio
Jupiter	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 218)	Aquarius(!)
	Phamenoth	8	(4 Mar. 219)	Pisces(!)
Mars	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 218)	Sagittarius
		29	(26 Sept. 218)	Capricorn
	Hathyr	7	(3 Nov. 218)	Aquarius
	Choeac	15	(11 Dec. 218)	Pisces
	Tybi	26	(21 Jan. 219)	Aries(!)
	Phamenoth	7	(3 Mar. 219)	Taurus(!)
	Pharmuthi	23	(18 Apr. 219)	Gemini(!)
	Payni	9	(3 June 219)	Cancer(!)
	Epeiph	27	(21 July 219)	Leo(!)
Venus	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 218)	Virgo
	Hathyr	9	(5 Nov. 218)	Libra
	Choeac	13	(9 Dec. 218)	Scorpio
	Tybi	8	(3 Jan. 219)	Sagittarius
	Mecheir	3	(28 Jan. 219)	Capricorn
		27	(21 Feb. 219)	Aquarius
	Phamenoth	22	(18 Mar. 219)	Pisces
	Pharmuthi	17	(12 Apr. 219)	Aries
	Pachon	11	(6 May 219)	Taurus
	Payni	5	(30 May 219)	Gemini
		29	(23 June 219)	Cancer
	Epeiph	20?	(14? July 219)	Leo
	Mesore	18	(11 Aug. 219)	Virgo
Mercury	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 218)	Virgo
		29	(26 Sept. 218)	Libra'

'Year 3.'

'Saturn	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 219)	Scorpio
Jupiter	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 219)	Pisces
	Phamenoth	24	(20 Mar. 220)	Aries(!)
Mars	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 219)	Leo

			8	(6 Sept. 219)	Virgo(!)
		Hathyr	2	(30 Oct. 219)	Libra
55		Choeac	20	(17 Dec. 219)	Scorpio
		Mecheir	2	(28 Jan. 220)	Sagittarius
		Phamenoth	16	(12 Mar. 220)	Capricorn(!)
		Pachon	6	(1 May 220)	Aquarius(!)
		Epeiph	3	(27 June 220)	Pisces(!)
60		Mesore	16	(9 Aug. 220)	Aquarius
	Venus	Thoth	6	(4 Sept. 219)	Libra
			30	(28 Sept. 219)	Scorpio
		Phaophi	25	(23 Oct. 219)	Sagittarius
		Hathyr	20	(17 Nov. 219)	Capricorn
65		Choeac	14	(11 Dec. 219)	Aquarius
		Tybi	12	(8 Jan. 220)	Pisces
		Mecheir	9	(4 Feb. 220)	Aries
		Phamenoth	22	(18 Mar. 220)	Taurus(!)
		Epeiph	17	(11 July 220)	Gemini
70		Mesore	11	(4 Aug. 220)	Cancer
	Mercury	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 219)	Libra'
	'Year 4.'				
	'Saturn	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 220)	Scorpio
		Hathyr	9	(5 Nov. 220)	Sagittarius
75	Jupiter	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 220)	Aries
		Pharmuthi	11	(6 Apr. 221)	Taurus(!)
	Mars	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 220)	Aquarius
		Hathyr	7	(3 Nov. 220)	Pisces
		Tybi	3	(29 Dec. 220)	Aries
80		Mecheir	16	(10 Feb. 221)	Taurus(!)
		Phamenoth	30	(26 Mar. 221)	Gemini(!)
		Pachon	19	(14 May 221)	Cancer(!)
		Epeiph	11	(5 July 221)	Leo(!)
		Mesore	25	(18 Aug. 221)	Virgo(!)
85	Venus	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 220)	Leo
			26	(23 Sept. 220)	Virgo
		Phaophi	21	(18 Oct. 220)	Libra
		Hathyr	15	(11 Nov. 220)	Scorpio
		Choeac	10	(6 Dec. 220)	Sagittarius
90		Tybi	4	(30 Dec. 220)	Capricorn
			29	(24 Jan. 221)	Aquarius
		Mecheir	12	(6 Feb. 221)	Pisces(!)
		Phamenoth	15	(11 Mar. 221)	Aries
		Pharmuthi	10	(5 Apr. 221)	Taurus
95		Pachon	5	(30 Apr. 221)	Gemini
			29	(24 May 221)	Cancer
		Payni	24	(18 June 221)	Leo
		Epeiph	19?	(13? July 221)	Virgo'
	'Page 6.'				
100	'Alexander.'				
	'Year 1.'				
	'Saturn	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 221)	Sagittarius
	Jupiter	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 221)	Taurus
		Phamenoth	29	(25 Mar. 222)	Gemini(!)

105	Mars	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 221)	Virgo
		Phaophi	9	(6 Oct. 221)	Libra
		Hathyr	27	(23 Nov. 221)	Scorpio(!)
		Tybi	5	(31 Dec. 221)	Sagittarius(!)
		Mecheir	21	(15 Feb. 222)	Capricorn
110		Phamenoth	29	(25 Mar. 222)	Aquarius
		Pachon	7	(2 May 222)	Pisces(!)
		Payni	24	(18 June 222)	Aries(!)
		Mesore	24	(17 Aug. 222)	Taurus
	Venus	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 221)	Libra
115			6	(3 Sept. 221)	Scorpio(!)
		Tybi	8	(3 Jan. 222)	Sagittarius(!)
		Mecheir	11	(5 Feb. 222)	Capricorn
		Phamenoth	12	(8 Mar. 222)	Aquarius
		Pharmuthi	7	(2 Apr. 222)	Pisces
120		Pachon	2	(27 Apr. 222)	Aries
			26	(21 May 222)	Taurus
		Payni	21	(15 June 222)	Gemini
		Epeiph	15	(9 July 222)	Cancer
		Mesore	10	(3 Aug. 222)	Leo
125		?	?	?	Virgo'
	'Year 2.'				
	'Saturn	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 222)	Sagittarius
		Tybi	20	(15 Jan. 223)	Capricorn(!)
		Epeiph	11	(5 July 223)	Sagittarius(!)
130	Jupiter	Thoth	12	(9 Sept. 222)	Cancer(!)
		Hathyr	27	(23 Nov. 222)	Gemini
		Pachon	18	(13 May 223)	Cancer(!)
	Mars	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 222)	Taurus
			27	(24 Sept. 222)	Aries(!)
135		Tybi	22	(17 Jan. 223)	Taurus
		Phamenoth	12	(8 Mar. 223)	Gemini
		Pharmuthi	27	(22 Apr. 223)	Cancer(!)
		Payni	19	(13 June 223)	Leo(!)
		Mesore	1	(25 July 223)	Virgo(!)
140	Venus	Thoth	22	(19 Sept. 222)	Libra
		Phaophi	16	(13 Oct. 222)	Scorpio
		Hathyr	10	(6 Nov. 222)	Sagittarius
		Choeac	5	(1 Dec. 222)	Capricorn
			29	(25 Dec. 222)	Aquarius
145		Tybi	14	(9 Jan. 223)	Pisces(!)
		Mecheir	19	(13 Feb. 223)	Aries
		Phamenoth	14	(10 Mar. 223)	Taurus
		Pharmuthi	9	(4 Apr. 223)	Gemini'
	'Year 3.'				
150	'Saturn	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 223)	Sagittarius
		Phaophi	18?	(16? Oct. 223)	Capricorn(!)
	Jupiter	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 223)	Cancer
		Phaophi	6	(4 Oct. 223)	Leo(!)
		Tybi	6	(2 Jan. 224)	Cancer
155		Payni	19	(13 June 224)	Leo
	Mars	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 223)	Virgo

			19	(17 Sept. 223)	Libra(!)
		Hathyr	4	(1 Nov. 223)	Scorpio(!)
		Choeac	15	(12 Dec. 223)	Sagittarius(!)
160		Tybi	27	(23 Jan. 224)	Capricorn(!)
		Phamenoth	3	(28 Feb. 224)	Aquarius(!)
		Pharmuthi	13	(8 Apr. 224)	Pisces(!)
		Pachon	20	(15 May 224)	Aries(!)
		Epeiph	4	(28 June 224)	Taurus(!)
165		Mesore	30	(23 Aug. 224)	Gemini
	Venus	Thoth	1	(30 Aug. 223)	Cancer
			11	(9 Sept. 223)	Leo
		Phaophi	9	(7 Oct. 223)	Virgo
		Hathyr	4	(1 Nov. 223)	Libra
170			29	(26 Nov. 223)	Scorpio
		Choeac	21?	(18? Dec. 223)	Sagittarius
		Tybi	?	?	Capricorn
		?	?	?	Aquarius
		?	?	?	Pisces
175		?	?	?	Aries
		?	?	?	Taurus'
	'Year 4.'				
	'Saturn	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 224)	Capricorn
	Jupiter	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 224)	Leo
180		Hathyr	14	(10 Nov. 224)	Virgo(!)
		Tybi	1	(27 Dec. 224)	Leo(!)
		Epeiph	19	(13 July 225)	Virgo
	Mars	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 224)	Gemini
		Phamenoth	5	(1 Mar. 225)	Cancer(!)
185		Pachon	27	(22 May 225)	Leo(!)
		Epeiph	20	(14 July 225)	Virgo(!)
	Venus	Thoth	1	(29 Aug. 224)	Libra
			17	(14 Sept. 224)	Scorpio
		Phaophi	12	(9 Oct. 224)	Sagittarius
190		Hathyr	?	(Oct./Nov. 224)	Capricorn
		Choeac	13	(9 Dec. 224)	Aquarius
			25	(21 Dec. 224)	Capricorn(!)
		Phamenoth	1	(25 Feb. 225)	Aquarius
		Pharmuthi	?	(Mar./Apr. 225)	Pisces'

2 *ἀνοσίου*. See introd. and **3298** 2 n.

μικροῦ. This form, not known before, distinguishes Elagabalus from Caracalla, who was *Ἀντωνῖνος μέγας*, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, p. 105, cf. XLIII p. 13. I am also grateful to Dr. Coles for discovering and pointing out to me that in the list of emperors XXXI **2551** *verso* instead of *Ἀντωνῖνος*] *ὁ ἕτερος* we should read *Ἀντωνῖνο*]*ς μικρός* (i 20).

5]*γ*. The trace is the right-hand tip of a crossbar which could suit *γ*, *ε*, *ς*, *θ*. According to Tuckerman Saturn entered Scorpio between 25 and 30 October, Phaophi 28 to Hathyr 3. The least unsatisfactory solution, therefore, is]*γ*, giving Hathyr 6 = 2 November, A.D. 217, but this is late, especially since, because of the difference in the ancient calculations of longitude, we might expect Scorpio to begin *c.* 206–8° instead of at 210°, see O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* iii 226, cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, 171–2. On this basis Scorpio would be entered earlier still, *c.* 5 to 10 October = Phaophi 8–13. It is certainly impossible to read *β* (= Phaophi) *ς* = 3 October, and in view of the difficulties in 6–7 we need not try.

6–7 According to Tuckerman Saturn was in retrograde motion inside Scorpio in this period, reaching its lowest point (211. 39) in the period 7–12 July. There are differences here both of extent of motion and of timing.

14 The restoration of iota in [ι]ζ is indicated by Tuckerman's tables. On Tybi 7 = 2 January, A.D. 217 Mars was well within Libra; ten days later it was on the margins of Libra and Scorpio, still in Libra by modern standards but probably in Scorpio by the ancient method of measuring longitude, see 5 n.

16–17 Mars was in retrograde motion at this point, but according to Tuckerman remained in Sagittarius.

18 Usually the first entry for each planet gives its position on Thoth 1, even when the planet enters a new sign during the month, see 24–5, 46–7, 52–3, 85–6, 114–15, 133–4, 156–7, 166–7, 187–8. There are only three other entries like this one: 61, 130, 140.

27–32 All these entries put the planets in the sign above that to which Tuckerman's tables assign them, but they are mostly within the bounds of accuracy to be expected from ancient calculations, see *Greek Horoscopes*, 2, 180–2.

44 κ[ιβ]. Epeiph 20 = 14 July, A.D. 219. It may be that the papyrus had κ[α or κ[β, which would also give a result near enough the expected degree of accuracy.

[Professor Neugebauer observes that for restorations it is best to use the difference-sequences of the text as a whole, not the agreement with Tuckerman, which means very little for individual cases. His calculations and the graphs that he has plotted suggest that the most plausible restoration here would be κ[δ, Epeiph 24 = 18 July.]

47 By 26 September Mercury was well past the middle of Libra, which was entered in the first three or four days of September. If we delete the kappa the date would be 6 September, which would be a satisfactory enough result, but it is hard to ascribe this simply to an error of transcription.

51, 53, 57–9. The entries here put each planet into the sign above that assigned to it by Tuckerman's tables. The errors are at least partly explicable by the different ancient calculation of longitude, cf. 5 n., 27–32 n.

61 See 18 n.

68 This entry is badly wrong, since according to Tuckerman Venus did not enter Taurus till the period 6–11 June = Payni 12–17, which would be written ι ιβ θ, ι ιγ θ etc. There seems to be no likelihood of a straightforward copying error.

[Professor Neugebauer calculates that ι κβ, Payni 22 = 16 June, A.D. 220, would give a sufficiently close result and suggests that the error lies in the figure for the month only.]

92 Venus did not enter Pisces till the period 11–16 February. In view of the good agreement of the neighbouring figures with the modern tables it seems quite likely that the figure for the day has been wrongly copied as ιβ instead of κβ, which would indicate 16 February.

98 The first reading was ια] κ̣β̣ α̣. Professor Neugebauer suggested that for the day figure it would be better to read ι̣θ̣, and in fact it is better palaeographically to assign the first trace to the top of the alpha of the figure of the month and take the second as the top of iota, though I had taken them together as kappa. After that the remains of a rounded top suit theta quite as well as beta.

104 According to Tuckerman it was at least a month later that Jupiter entered Gemini. If, instead of Phamenoth 29 = 25 March, the date were Pharmuthi 29 = 25 April, Jupiter would be near enough entering Gemini to afford a result satisfactory by ancient methods. It is unlikely that the month number η was mistaken for ζ, but Phamenoth and Pharmuthi are sufficiently similar to cause confusion and the error may have taken place at a stage when the names were still being used, cf. 184 n. For more elaborate tables which give the month names cf. *ZPE* 11 (1973) 101–14.

125 Since there is no line across the column above this entry it still belongs to Venus, which entered Virgo in the period 21–24 August, Mesore 28–Epagomenae 1. If the last date is right it was probably written ιγ α] α̣[, cf. introd. para. 4.

[Professor Neugebauer calculates that the difference-sequences (cf. 44 n.) suggest that the table would have had here ιγ δ] α̣[, i.e. Epagomenae 4 = 27 August.]

130 See 18 n.

134 Mars did not descend into Aries till the period 9–14 October = Phaophi 12–17 (β ιβ–β ιζ). A copying error of κζ for β ιζ does not seem particularly likely.

139 The large error here might be reduced to credible proportions by assuming that the day intended was ια (4 August) instead of α (25 July).

140 See 18 n.

145 The large error might be reduced by assuming that ιδ is an error for κδ (19 January). This would be late, but the preceding two entries and the succeeding two are also slightly late.

151 The damaged figure is perhaps ιη, which would represent 16 October, A.D. 222, on which date Saturn was still in Sagittarius but so close to the boundary that the entry would probably be correct for ancient longitude, cf. 5 n.

157–164 In all these entries modern computation puts the planet still in the sign below the one indicated. The divergences are slight and are probably due to the difference in the ancient longitude, cf. 5 n.

171 κα̣. Also possible is κδ̣ = 21 December.

172 Venus moved into Capricorn in the period 7–12 January, A.D. 224. Restore a figure between ι̣[α] and ι̣[ζ] inclusive.

176 Venus moved into Taurus in the period 16–21 April. The Alexandrian month will be Pharmuthi = η and the day κα–κζ. The trace would suit κ]χ, κ]ε̣, or κ]ς̣.

181 The large disparity here could be brought within reasonable bounds by supposing that the day figure α is a mistake for λ = 25 January.

184 To reduce the large discrepancy here we might adopt the same solution as suggested in 104 n. and emend the month numeral from ζ to η on the assumption that Phamenoth was a confusion for Pharmuthi. To emend 1 March to 31 March would reduce the deviation to about the same magnitude as those in the two succeeding entries.

190 Venus entered Capricorn in the period 2–7 November, A.D. 224. Restore a figure between ς (6) and ια (11); to judge from the available space one might eliminate ια (11) as too wide and ι (10) as too narrow and leave ς, ζ, η, θ to choose from, but this type of argument is dubious.

192 If we emend κε to ς ε i.e. Mecheir 5 = 30 January, the entry is correct, but it is hard to think of this as a mere copying error.

[Professor Neugebauer makes the better suggestion that in this case the figure for the month has simply been omitted in error. He points out that ⟨ε⟩ κε, Tybi 25 = 21 January, A.D. 224, would give a sufficiently close result.]

194 η[. Tuckerman's tables indicate 6–11 April, A.D. 225 = Pharmuthi 11–16 = η ια–ις, as the period in which Venus entered Pisces (ζ).

3300. Extract from City Directory

48 5B.30/G(3–5)a 5·5 × 20·5 cm. Later third century

This extract from a list of properties in Oxyrhynchus occupies the back of **3294**, written in A.D. 271/2, and is presumably of about the same date or not much later. The terminology is very like that of P. Osl. III 111, though more information is included there under each house entry. Here the names of owners and occupiers only are given, sometimes with the addition of their occupations. In this it resembles rather the extensive document from Panopolis recently published by Z. Borkowski, *Une description topographique des immeubles à Panopolis.*

ἀρχο(μένων) ἀπὸ οἰκ(ίας) Διογένους
Διογένης
Διονύσιος ἀδελ(φός)

1 αρχο̄, οι^κ 3 αδ^λ̄ε̄

λιβ(ὸς) ἐχο(μένη) Ἡρακλεί[δ]ου οἰκ(ία)
αὐτὸς Ἡρακλείδης
καμψ(άντων) ἐπὶ νότ(ον) (πρότερον) Αν.[...
Ἀρανάϊς καψ[άριος
Ἀκυλειανός
βορ(ρᾶ) ἐχο(μένη) Θωνίου οἰκ(ία)
Θῶνις ἁλιεύς
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Πασόϊς ἁλιεύς
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Πτολεμαίου Ἀμόϊτ(ος)
Φιλέας καὶ Ἰσίδωρος
Ἀπολλω( ) καὶ Ὧρ[ο]ς
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Ἁρποκρ( ) [ο]ἰ̣κοδόμ(ος)
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Ἀφυγχίου ποικιλ(τοῦ)
αὐτὸς Ἀφῦγχις
Θῶνις ἀδελφ(ός)
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Ἀνεικήτου βαφ(έως)
αὐτὸς Ἀνείκητος
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Φιλάμμω(νος) λαχ(ανοπώλου) ἀοίκ(ητος)
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Σαραπιάδος
Ἡρακλῆς
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Διογ( ) λινοΰφ(ου)
Ἄρειος
νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Ἡρακλ( ) α(ὐτὸς) Ἡρακλ( )
ν[ό]τ(ου) ἐχο(μένη) Μυ.....[.
Παυ̣ς̣ᾶς Ἀχιλ( ) υἱός
Ἡραΐσκος ἕτερος
καμ(ψάντων) ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτην) Διονυσίου
...λας τέκτω(ν)
ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐχο(μένη) Ἀπολ( ) Κιχόϊς
καμ(ψάντων) ἐπὶ βορ(ρᾶν) Σαραπιάδος
Παγᾶς
βορ(ρᾶ)] ἐχό(μενον) κλειβανῖο(ν)
.....].ο̣ς[

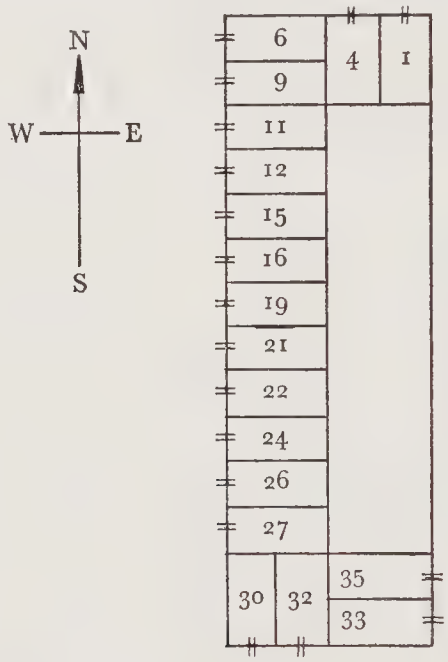
. . . . .

4 λιβεχō, οικ 6 καμψ', νοτα' 7 αραναϊς 9 βορϛεχō, οικ 11 νοτεχō (and so throughout), πασοϊς 12 αμοιτ 14 απολλῶ 15 αρποκρϛ[ο]ι̣κοδομ 16 ποικιλ 18 αδελφ' 19 βαφ' 21 φιλαμμῶλαχϛαοικ 24 διογ'λινουφ' 26 ηρακλα¯ηρακλ 28 αχιλυϊος 29 ηραϊσκος 30 καμϛ, απηλ 31 τεκτῶ 32 απηλεχōαπολ 33 καμϛ, βορϛ 35 εχō; l. κλιβανεῖον

'Beginning from the house of Diogenes: Diogenes, Dionysius (his) brother.
Next west: house of Heracleides: Heracleides himself.
Turning to the south: house formerly belonging to An . . .: Aranais, *capsarius*, Aquilianus.
Next north (*sic*; south?): house of Thonius: Thonis, fisherman.
Next south: Pasois, fisherman.
Next south: (house) of Ptolemaeus son of Amois: Phileas and Isidorus, Apollo( ) and Horus.
Next south: Harpocr( ), builder.
Next south: (house) of Aphynchius, embroiderer: Aphynchis himself, Thonis (his) brother.
Next south: (house) of Anicetus, dyer: Anicetus himself.
Next south: (house) of Philammon, vegetable-seller: uninhabited.
Next south: (house) of Sarapias: Heracles.
Next south: (house) of Diog( ), linen-weaver: Areius.
Next south: (house) of Heracl( ): Heracl( ) himself.
Next south: (house) of My . . .: Paysas son of Achil( ) (her?) son, Heraiscus, another.
Turning to the east: (house) of Dionysius: . . . las, carpenter.
Next east: (house) of Apol( ): Cichois.
Turning to the north: (house) of Sarapias: Pagas.
Next north (?): bakery.'

7 The name Aranais is new. On *capsarii* see P. Giss. 50 introd. In P. Osl. III 111. 233 καψα( ) is taken to be a wrong spelling of καμψά(ντων), but καψα(ρίου), as the occupation of the person whose names precede, may be a preferable expansion of the abbreviation.

9 βορ(ρᾶ) ἐχο(μένη). It is very difficult to construct a diagram to show how this house could be to the north of the one in line 6 and also have on its south side the house in line 11. If this is a mistake for νότ(ου) ἐχο(μένη), a perfectly straightforward plan emerges, viz:



27–9 Neither the reading nor the pattern of sense is clear. If only one inhabitant is listed in 28, the implication is that My . . . is a woman, the owner of the house, which is inhabited by her son Paysas, whose father is Achil( ), and by Heraiscus, another son. This possibility is used in the translation. As an alternative we might translate, 'Paysas, Achil( ) his son, Heraiscus another'. I have not succeeded in matching the traces in 27 to any known name or to a word meaning 'mill'—compare the bakery below (35) and the μυλῶνες in Z. Borkowski, op. cit.

31 Read perhaps *Πάλλας*.

32 Though *Κιχόϊς* does not appear in NB or in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, it is probably only a variant spelling of *Χιχόϊς*.

34 *Παγᾶς* is not in NB or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. It probably stands in the same relation to *Παγένης* as *Διογᾶς* to *Διογένης*.

3301–3303. Documents relating to Claudius Cleopatrus, praefectus Aegypti

A new prefect of Egypt, Claudius Cleopatrus, is mentioned in these three very different documents, all considerably damaged. **3303** is undated, the other two have lost the month and day but are dated to a year, **3301** to the consular year A.D. 300 and **3302** to the Egyptian year 29 August 300 to 28 August 301. The next item, **3304**, supplies the earliest date yet known in the prefecture of Clodius Culcianus, 6 June 301, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for **3302** and narrows the possible period to between 29 August 300 and 6 June 301. The last document of the prefecture of Aelius Publius, the predecessor of Cleopatrus, is still IX **1204** which gives 19 August 299 as the date of an event which must fall shortly before the date of the papyrus, which was itself written while Publius was still prefect.

The data may be summarized more simply in a table:

Aelius Publius	Last known just after 19 August 299 (IX **1204**)
Claudius Cleopatrus	Known some time in 300 (**3301**)
	Some time between 29 August 300 and 6 June 301 (**3302**)
	Undated (**3303**)
Clodius Culcianus	First known 6 June 301 (**3304**)

3301. Report of Systatae

35 4B.64/H(1–4)a 16 × 17·5 cm. A.D. 300

Three systatae, acting as a college, cf. XLIII **3137**, report to the strategus in answer to his inquiry, which was itself prompted by an order of the prefect, that a wanted person's name is not to be found among their records. Since the systates was the chief administrative officer of the tribe, there may be an implication here that there were only three tribes in Oxyrhynchus at this date, though that cannot be taken as sure without confirmatory evidence, cf. XL pp. 6–7, XLIII **3095–8** introd. A change in the number of tribes may have been made at the same time as the introduction of the systatae early in the reign of Diocletian, cf. A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 152 n. 7.

This is the first such report from officers of the tribes and the damage to the ends of the lines deprives us of the exact wording at many places, but one may compare the reports made by property registrars of the results of searches in their records, XXXIII **2665**, M. *Chr.* 196.

The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑ[π]άτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ'.
Αὐρηλίῳ Ζηναγένει στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχείτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ὡρίωνος Θέωνος καὶ Χωσίωνος
5 τοῦ καὶ Ἀμυντιανοῦ καὶ Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος
Πύρρου τῶν [τ]ρ[ιῶ]ν συστατῶν τῆς [λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως).

ἐπιζητοῦντί σο[ι] ἐκ προστάξεως τοῦ [διασημοτάτου
ἡμῶν ἡγεμ[ό]νος Κλαυδίου Κλεοπά[τρου c. 8
εἰ Ἀμμώνιος Στεφάνου τῶν αὐτόθι [c. 12
10 γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ τοιοῦτο ἀνενεγκεῖ[ν c. 11
ἐξετάσει τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἑκαστ[c. 12
φυλῆς γενόμενος τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ δ[c. 12
φενόμενον .[.]ν οὐθοποτερο[.].[c. 14
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσφωνοῦμεν. [
(vac.)

. . . . .

13 l. φαινόμενον; ουθ'οποτερο[.].[

'Under the consuls our lords Constantius and Maximian, most noble Caesars, (both) for the third time. To Aurelius Zenagenes, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Horion son of Theon and Aurelius Chosion alias Amyntianus and Aurelius Didymus alias Sarapion son of Pyrrhus, the three of them systatae of [the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites]. In response to your inquiry arising from an order of our [most perfect] prefect Claudius Cleopatrus [commanding (you)], if Ammonius son of Stephanus [is] one of the local populace [immediately] to report such information to his attention, [accordingly] each of us took charge [of] a search of our records [relating to the] tribe [under his control] and not one [of us was able to find] this person appearing anywhere [in the records] and for this reason we make our report.'

3 *Ζηναγένει*. Cf. XLV **3246** introd. on the name of this strategus.

4 *Ὡρίων Θέωνος*. See XLIII **3137** 3–4 n. for other references.

4–5 *Χωσίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀμυντιανοῦ*. In view of the comparatively unusual first name he is probably the same as the Chosion who is a systates in XXXIV **2717** 12, 17.

5–6 *Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος Πύρρου*. Also in **3304** of 6 June, A.D. 301. He may be identical with the systates Aurelius Sarapion in XLIII **3141** 3 of A.D. 300.

7–13 The certain supplement διασημοτάτου (7) governs the estimates of missing letters in the subsequent lines. The gaps are too long to restore the rest of the wording with certainty. The translation depends on the conjectural restorations given below, which could be varied in many respects but must give the information that a search of the records has been made with a negative result.

ἐπιζητοῦντί σο[ι] ἐκ προστάξεως τοῦ [διασημοτάτου
ἡμῶν ἡγεμ[ό]νος Κλαυδίου Κλεοπά[τρου κελευούσης,
εἰ Ἀμμώνιος Στεφάνου τῶν αὐτόθι [ἐστίν, εὐθέως εἰς
10 γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ τοιοῦτο ἀνενεγκεῖ[ν, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ
ἐξετάσει τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἕκαστ[ος τῆς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν

φυλῆς γενόμενος τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ δ̣[ιὰ τῶν βιβλίων
φενόμενον κ̣[ἂ]ν οὐθοπότερο[ς] ἡ̣[μῶν εὑρεῖν ἐδύνατο
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσφωνοῦμεν.

8 On Claudius Cleopatrus see **3301–3303** introd.

13 *οὐθοποτερο[.]*. This is to be compared with the use of *οὐθείς* for *οὐδείς*, cf. Mayser–Schmoll I i 148–9 (33c), and is the equivalent of *οὐδοπότερος*, cf. E. A. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, and F. Passow, *Handwörterbuch*, s.v. I have not found the form with theta elsewhere. It perhaps ought to be printed as two words, *οὔθ' ὁπότερος*, since *LSJ* notes *οὐδοπότερος* s.v. *ὁπότερος* I 3; cf. P. Flor. III 384. 84 *οὐδ' ὁποτέρῳ μέρει*.

14 The last letter of *προσφωνοῦμεν* has a finial which suggests that this is the end of the report, which would in any case be expected to end with this word. The second half of the line was probably blank. Underneath there is a blank margin of *c.* 2·5 cm. with a ragged edge; further down there was probably a date clause giving the month and the day.

3302. Petition to a Prefect

29 4B.56/E(11)a 17×27 cm. A.D. 300/1

A lady petitions the prefect for protection against tax-collectors. Apparently some persons who had tried to keep her out of her inheritance and had been ordered to make restitution were trying now to subject her to liability for taxes on the property for the period in which she had not enjoyed the income. If the addition of ⟨*οὐ*⟩ to the text in 12 is correct, see n., she was still dispossessed at the time of writing.

The text is much damaged and in addition the statement of the case is so general that we get very little idea of the circumstances.

For the prefect in question see **3301–3303** introd.

The back is blank.

Κλαυδίῳ Κλεοπάτρῳ τῷ διασημ[οτάτῳ ἐπάρχ]ῳ [Αἰγ]ύπτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Σερηνίλλης θυγατρὸς Σ[υρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Εὐστο]χ̣ίου γυ̣μ̣(νασιαρχήσαντος)
γεν(ομένου) βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)
καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως χωρὶς κυρίου χ̣[ρηματιζούσης τέκνων] δ̣ικαίῳ.
ἔ[δ]ε̣ι μὴ πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς
ἀπευκτέως παρὰ τῆς τύχης μου συμ̣[c. 18 letters] ἐπαχ̣θ̣ῶς με βιάζεσθαι. ἀλλὰ
γὰρ τῆς πρὸς τῶν γονέων κηδαιμονίᾳ[ς c. 17 letters] ἔτι μὴν καὶ τῶν καταλελιμ-
μ̣ένων μοι μάλ{λ}ιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸ̣ς̣ ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὸ βιαίων καὶ δυναστῶν παρανό-
μως κρατηθέντων ἐγώ τε ἐντυχείαις ἐχρησάμην περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποκαταστάσεως
τοῖς πρὸς τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονόσι ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ σῷ μεγαλείῳ καὶ προστάξεις ἐφύτη-
σαν δι' ἀποφάσεων καὶ ὑπογραφῶν ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ διαδικασιῶν γεγενημένον ὑπὸ τῶν

2 *γυμ̣ϛ'γενϛ'βουλ, λαμϛ'* 3 *λαμϛ''οξ'* 4 l. *ἀπευκταίως* 5 l. *κηδεμονίας* 5–6 l. *καταλελειμμένων* 6 *ὕπαυτου* 8–9 l. *ἐφοίτησαν* 9 *ὑπογραφων*; l. *γεγενημένων*; *ὕπο*

10 ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δοθέντων κατὰ καιρὸν δικαστῶν ὥστε μοι καὶ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τούτων γενέσθαι καὶ εἰσαχθῆναί με εἰς τὴν νομήν. ἀλλ' ἐπιδὴ μᾶλλον ἀνδρεειζόμενοι περὶ τὸ βιάζεσθαί με οὐ μόνον τῶν [ἡμε]τέρων ὑπαρχόντων ἀφείστὰς'θαι ⟨οὐ⟩ βεβούληντε, ἀλλ' ἔτι ὑποβάλλει με καὶ δι[. . . . . ς]υ̣ν̣τελεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὧν οὐδὲ τὴ̣[ν πρόσοδον ἐκαρπωσάμην κ[c. 12] τῶν πρακτήρων ειρ[. .]η καὶ τ̣[η-

15 ροῦμαι συνεχῶς ἐν τῷ δημ[οσίῳ λογισ]τηρίῳ οὐ δίκαια οὐ̣.[c. 10 οὐδὲ ἄξια ἀλλὰ ἀνοίκεια καὶ τῷ̣[ν νόμων καὶ] τῆς τούτο[ι]ς ἀκολούθως πρυ̣τ̣α̣ν̣ευομένης ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ μεγαλείου [εἰρήνης. διὸ ἀξιῶ] ε̣ἰ̣ σ̣ο̣υ̣ δοκε̣ῖ̣ τῇ τύχῃ προστάξαι δι' ὑπογραφῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν μηδ̣[ὲν ἄτοπον ἐπιτ]ρ̣έπειν γείνεσθαι κατ' ἐμοῦ ὑ̣π̣ὸ̣ τ̣ῶ̣ν πρακτήρων ἀ̣λ̣λ̣ὰ̣ [c. 17]υς τοὺς τῇ βία

20 καρπ[ωσαμέν]ους τὰ ἡμέτερα [c. 25]α ἀποδεδω-
κ. . .[. . . . .].της παραδ̣[. .]. .[c. 25]υσης ἐπι
γειν. .[. . . .].α ἂν διαφέροντα[c. 25].η δυνη-
θείην ἐ̣[ν τῇ ἰ]δίᾳ συμμένειν . . . .[c. 25].τος ἐπὶ
ταύτῃ τ[ῇ . . .]. .σίᾳ ὁμολογη[c. 23? δι]ευτύχει.
(vac.) [

25 ἔτους [ιζ]'' καὶ ιϛ' .[
ἴ τις [. . .]. .εἴγνυτο κ. . .[
κολ[(λήματος) .]' τόμ(ου) [

---

10 ὑπο 11 αλ'λ; l. ἐπειδή, ἀνδρεϊζόμενοι 12 ὑπαρχοντων 12–13 l. βεβούληνται
13 αλ'λ, ὑποβαλλει, ὑπερ 17 ὑπο 18 ὑπογραφης 26 l. εἴ τις 27 τομ'

'To Claudius Cleopatrus the most perfect prefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Serenilla daughter of Syrion alias Eustochius ex-gymnasiarch former councillor of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, acting without a guardian according to the *ius liberorum*. It was not right that on top of these accidents that have occurred, contrary to my hopes, as a result of my own destiny, (anyone?) should burden me with rough treatment. However, when the care which I received from my parents . . . and when the property left to me, especially that left me by my father, was illegally detained by violent and influential persons, I had recourse to appeals for its restitution to the incumbents of the prefecture and finally also to your Highness, and commands were issued, through judgements and subscriptions and even court cases conducted by judges appointed by the prefecture from time to time, that restitution of it should be made to me and I should be installed in possession. But since, gaining confidence in their rough treatment of me, they have not only ⟨not?⟩ consented to vacate my possessions but are still putting my name forward(?) to make various(?) payments in respect of them though I have not enjoyed even the income from them, I have been shut up in the tax-collectors' prison(?) and I am continually kept in custody in the treasury office, suffering(?) treatment that is not just . . . not deserved, but incompatible with the laws and the peace granted to us in accordance with them by your Highness. Therefore I request(?), if it please your *genius*, that you give orders by a subscription that the strategus should not allow anything untoward to happen to me at the hands of the tax-collectors but . . . those who have enjoyed my property by force . . . that I may be enabled to remain where I belong . . . Farewell.'

'Year 17 and 16 . . .'

'Sheet *n*, roll *n*.'

2 The patronymic is restored from XLII **3139** 2–3.

4 *cυμ.[*. The trace suits *β*, which suggests *cυμβ[âcι* or *cυμβ[εβηκόcι*. A subject for *βιάζεcθαι* may occupy the remaining space, e.g. *μηδένα* or more probably something alluding specifically to her adversaries.

5 It might be guessed that Serenilla was left an orphan and that her guardians are accused of misusing their powers. The *κηδεμονία* may refer to measures taken to protect her interests after the deaths of her parents, e.g. *τῆc . . . κηδαιμονίᾳ[c μου καταφρονηθείcης*, 'when the provision made for me by my parents was held in contempt'.

11 *ἀνδρεειζόμενοι*, l. *ἀνδρεϊζ-*. This is the second papyrus to testify to the genuineness of the verb *ἀνδρεΐζεcθαι* (from *ἀνδρεῖοc*), existing alongside *ἀνδρίζεcθαι* (from *ἀνήρ*), see Men. *Kith.* 76, with the commentary of A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, p. 415. In the documentary papyri *ἀνδρεΐζεcθαι* occurs only here; *ἀνδρίζεcθαι* appears in P. Cair. Zen. IV 59579. 5, P. Petrie II 40a. 13, PSI IV 326. 10; 402. 3 and V 512. 29, all of the third century B.C.

12 ⟨*οὐ*⟩. The addition was suggested by the Press reader. The improvement to the sense and the run of the sentence makes the suggestion irresistible.

13 *ὑποβάλλει*. Probably this is simply a mistake for the plural. The shade of meaning is not entirely clear. For the translation adopted, 'putting my name forward', cf. WB s.v. *ὑποβάλλω* (2).

It seems fairly clear that Serenilla is being called upon to pay taxes. Restore perhaps *δι[άφορα c]υ̣τελεῖν*, 'to make various payments'. Easier would be *δη[μόcια*, 'to pay the state taxes', but the trace suits *ι* better than the first upright of *η*.

14 *ειρ[..]η*. The word required may be *εἱρκτή*, 'prison'. For imprisonment in the *πρακτορεῖον* see WO I 285, 621–2, cf. G. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, 113–14, R. Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 715, n. 22. It seems likely that this prison is the same as the one known to exist in the *δημόcιον λογιcτήριον*, see 15 n. The dative *εἱρκτῇ* looks likeliest, though after it *καί* seems to have been written over something else, perhaps *ν*. Restore perhaps *κ[ατεκλείcθην ἐν τῇ] τῶν πρακτήρων εἱρ[κτ]ῇ*.

Note that the *πρακτῆρεc* are '*not* to be identified with the earlier *πράκτορεc*', see *Ancient Society* 7 (1976) 305–6 and n. 26. For *πράκτωρ* see N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. To judge from the passages referred to in S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*, s.v. *πρακτήρ*, this variant is a general term for a tax-collector.

15 *δημ[οcίῳ λογιc]τηρίῳ*. For this office as the site of a prison see XLIII **3104** 8 n.

16–17 For the restoration of *εἰρήνηc* cf. *LSJ* s.v. *πρυτανεύω* II 2 & 3. The plural *ἡμεῖν* may be equivalent to *μοι*, cf. the use of *ἡμέτεροc* in 12 and 20, or better, as Mr. Parsons suggests, it may mean 'us Egyptians'.

18 *ἄτοπον*. Cf. e.g. XLIII **3123** 7.

26]..*εἴγνυτο*. The traces are certainly not of *μ*, rather of].*ς*,].*τ*, or]*π*. Nor are they of *δ*, but possibly (-)*εδείκνυτο* is here written wrongly as (-)]*ετείγνυτο*, cf. XLIII **3113** 20, *ὑποδίγνυμι* = *ὑποδείκνυμι*, and Mayser–Schmoll I i p. 147 for *τ* = *δ*.

3303. Edict of a Prefect

43 5B.64/K(6–9)b 17 × 7·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 300–1

The ends of the lines are so much abraded that little can be made of the text of this edict. All that emerges is the name of the prefect, Claudius Cleopatrus, on whom see **3301–3303** introd., and the fact that he is pronouncing about the supply of boats.

If the boats were, as one might most naturally assume, for the transport of grain down the Nile to Alexandria after the harvest, the season of the year would probably be summer, say July or August. Since this prefect's predecessor, Aelius Publius, was still in office after 19 August, A.D. 299 (IX **1204**), and his successor, Clodius Culcianus,

was in office already by 6 June A.D. 301 (**3304**), the year in question would then be A.D. 300. The argument, however, is far from sure.

The back is blank.

Κλαύδιο[[.]]`ς´ Κλεόπατ̣ρος ὁ δ̣ι̣α̣ς̣η̣μ̣ό̣τ̣α̣τ̣ο̣ς̣ ἔπ̣α̣ρ̣χ̣ο̣ς̣
Ἐγ[ύ]πτου λέγει. τοὺς τὰ πλ̣ο̣ῖ̣α κεκτημένο̣υ̣ς̣
τῆς χρείας αὐτῶν μὴ σφόδρα με̣..... α̣ἰ̣[σ-
θάνομε̣ διὰ τὸ π[ρ]ὸς καιρόν τινα̣.....
ρεσίας αὐτῶν νομεισθείσης α.....
τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμέ̣ν̣ους αὐτοῖς προσταχθῆναι
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρασχε[ῖ]ν τινα πλοῖ̣α̣ πρὸς καιρὸν
ὑπηρετησόμενα καὶ τοῖς δεσπότες .υ̣....
ἀπ̣οδοθησόμενα .πει..νυ̣. ὑπὲρ τοῦ μ̣ὴ̣
...τ̣ικον....[..]... τοῦτο τοῖς τη....

. . . . .

2 l. *Αἰγύπτου* 3–4 l. *αἰσθάνομαι* 5 l. *νομισθείσης* 7 *ὕπεμου* 8 l. *δεσπόταις*

'Claudius Cleopatrus, the most perfect prefect of Egypt, says:

"I observe that the owners of boats are not (obtaining?) much (share?) in the use of them(?), because for a (short?) time, when their service was considered (essential?), those put in charge of them were commanded by me to provide some boats to serve temporarily and to be returned (forthwith?) to their masters . . ."'

(For the purposes of this highly conjectural translation I have assumed that certain of the unread traces could represent *μετέχοντας* (3), *βραχύν*, *τῆς ὑπηρεσίας* (4–5), *ἀναγκαίας* (5), and *εὐθέως* (8). These could be right but are not verifiable. The whole sense might be quite different.)

9 Perhaps *ἐ̣πεί τ̣ε̣ νῦ̣ν̣*, introducing another preliminary clause. Another, and perhaps a better, possibility is *ἐ̣πεὶ τ̣ύ̣ν̣υ̣ν̣* for *ἐπεὶ τοίνυν*, which itself cannot be read.

10 At the end perhaps *τῆς̣ δ̣ι̣α̣* would suit.

3304. Affidavit

28 4B.58/B(6–8)b+60/C(6–7)a 20×25·5 cm. 6 June, A.D. 301

Put together from three fragments found under two inventory numbers, this document mentions the prefect of Egypt Clodius Culcianus and gives a date which is the earliest recorded for him. See **3301–3303** introd. for the effect of this on the list of prefects.

The affidavit was made by a systates of Oxyrhynchus affirming the misdeeds of a fellow citizen. A charge was to be laid in the court of the prefect of Egypt and the affidavit may have been chosen as the formal way of instituting proceedings because the defendant had taken flight, possibly to avoid public service. In W. *Chr.* 402 it seems that the form of an affidavit addressed to the prefect was adopted because the adversary refused to accept a communication. These two cases suggest that the affidavit was used

particularly when one party to the dispute could not or would not participate in the ordinary legal procedure. This does not apply, however, to SB X 10288. On the *μαρτυροποίημα* as an *edictio actionis* see E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als röm. Provinz*, 116–17.

The back is blank.

ἔτο]υϲ ιζ′ καὶ ιϛ ϛ τῶν κυ̣ρ̣[ίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Ϲεβαϲτῶ(ν)
καὶ (ἔτουϲ)] ἐνάτου τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μῶν Κωνϲταντίου καὶ Μαξιμι]ανοῦ τῶν ἐπι-
φανεϲτάτων
Και]ϲ̣άρων, Παῦνι ιβ. ὑπατε̣ί̣[αϲ Ποϲτουμίου Τιτιανοῦ (τὸ β′?) καὶ Οὐιρί]ο̣υ̣
Ν̣ε̣π̣ω̣τ̣ιανοῦ ἐν τῇ λαμ(πρᾷ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτῃ) ᾿Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(ει).
μαρ]τύρεται Αὐρήλιοϲ Δί̣[δυμοϲ ὁ καὶ Ϲαραπίων Π]ύ̣ρ̣ρου ἀπὸ τῆϲ λαμπρᾶϲ
κ̣α̣ὶ λαμπροτάτηϲ ᾿Οξυρυγ̣χ̣ιτ[ῶν πόλεωϲ .....] ϲυϲτάτηϲ ᾿Ιϲίδωρον
τὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπικ[c. 17 letters] ἀ̣πὸ τῆϲ αὐτῆϲ πόλεωϲ
ο̣ὐ̣κ ἀξίωϲ τῆϲ τῶν νόμων [ἐπιϲτρεφείαϲ καὶ τοῦ φ]ό̣βου τοῦ διαϲημοτάτου
ἐ]π̣ά̣ρχου τῆϲ Αἰγύπτου Κλωδ[ίου Κουλκιανοῦ .....].κεναι καὶ ἐπειδὴ
.....]..την παρὰ τῆϲ ἀνδ.[c. 17 letters]. ἀ̣[ν]αγκαίωϲ
c. 12 letters]ωδε τῷ μαρτυ̣ρ̣ο̣[ποιήματι c. 12 letters]θηκεν. τὸν οὖν
c. 12 letters] ο̣ὔτε λόγο̣ν ..[c. 20 letters]λ. ν πεποιηκέναι
c. 10 letters]. περιγραφηϲ λ[ειτ]ουργίαϲ ....[.]....[....]. μηδὲ̣ ενφα̣
c. 4].α̣υ̣τω καταϲτήϲαντα, τίνα τρόπο̣ν̣ οὐκ ο̣ἶ̣δ̣᾿ [ὅ]πωϲ γεγενῆϲ̣[θα]ι̣
πρὸϲ τὴν αὐτοῦ ϲύμβιον Αὐρηλίαν Θερμούθιον καὶ ἐξηπατηκέ̣ν̣α̣ι
αὐτὴν καὶ ἣν ἔχει ὄνον θηλεῖαν λευκὴν πῶλον ὡϲ πρὸϲ χρῆϲιν
ἐϲχηκέναι, ταύτην δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐπιτιμήϲι λαβόντα ἀπηλακέ̣ν̣α̣ι
κα]ὶ ϲήμερον ἡμέραι τρῖϲ ἐγκρατῆ αὐτῆϲ ὄντα μήτε αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐν-
φανίϲαντα μήτε τὴν ὄνον τῇ οἰκίᾳ τάξει ἀπεκατεϲτακέναι καὶ {.}
ἐπειδὴ τὸ τόλμημα οὐκ ἄλλου ἐϲτὶν ἐπιϲτρεφείου μόνον τῆϲ ἀνδρείαϲ
τοῦ διαϲημοτάτου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου Κλω̣δίου Κουλκιανοῦ τόδε τὸ
μαρτυροποίημα δημοϲίᾳ προὔθηκεν ἵνα πάντεϲ ἰδῶϲι καὶ διὰ τῆϲ
τ]οῦ ϲτατίζοντοϲ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου) πίϲτεωϲ μὴ λανθάνῃ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆϲ ἡγεμονίαϲ
παρ᾿ ᾗ ἀδίϲτακτόν ἐϲτιν ἐπιϲτῆϲαι πρὸϲ τὴν παράνομον αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
χείρη[ϲ]ιν τὴν δέουϲαν καὶ καθήκουϲαν ἐπιτιμίᾳν.
(m. 2) *Αὐρήλιοϲ Δίδυμοϲ ὁ καὶ Ϲαραπίων πεποίημαι τὸ μαρτυροπύημα ὡϲ πρόκ(ειται).*

1 *ϲεβαϲτῶ* 3 *λαμϛ, λαμϛοξ′πο̣λ̣* 5 *ϊϲιδωρον* 16 l. *ἐπιτιμήϲει, ἀπηλλαχέναι(?)* 17 l. *τρεῖϲ* 18 l. *οἰκείᾳ, ἀποκαθεϲτακέναι* 21 *ϊνα, ϊδωϲι*; l. *εἰδῶϲι* 22 *β/φ* 25 l. *μαρτυροποίημα*; *προκ*

'Year 17 and 16 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and year nine of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Payni 12. In the consulship of Postumius Titianus (for the 2nd time?) and Virius(?) Nepotianus, in the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. Aurelius Didymus alias Sarapion, son of Pyrrhus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, . . . systates, witnesses that Isidorus alias Apollonius . . . from the same city has acted in disregard of the punitive process of the laws and of the fear of the most perfect prefect of Egypt Clodius Culcianus and since . . . (13 ff.) in some way, he (Didymus) knows not how, he (Isidorus) got access to his wife Aurelia Thermuthion and deceived her and on the pretext of a loan got the donkey which she owns, a white female foal, but having secured it on this false claim(?) took it away(?) and though he has been in possession of it for three days today has neither appeared again himself nor returned the donkey to its proper place; and since this outrage is subject to no penal authority but that of his Valiance the most perfect prefect of Egypt Clodius Culcianus, he posted this affidavit in public so that all should be informed, so that, by the loyal conduct of the *beneficiarius* stationed here, it should not escape the notice of His Highness of the prefecture, whose undoubted province it is to impose upon this unlawful enterprise the fit and proper punishment.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Didymus alias Sarapion, made the affidavit as aforesaid.'

2 *ἐνάτου*. For the avoidance of theta in dating by regnal years see *ZPE* 24 (1977) 241–3.

3 Cf. PSI IX 1037. 35–6 *ὑπατίας Ποστουμίου Τιτιανοῦ [τὸ β' καὶ Οὐιρίου Νε]πωτιανοῦ''*. It is known from *CIL* vi 2143 that Titianus was *consul iterum*, but since *τὸ β'* cannot have appeared in XXXVIII **2859** 30, and is restored in PSI IX 1037. 36 and P. Flor. I 3. 23, it is not certain that it has appeared in any of the papyri dated by these consuls. Space seems short enough to justify doubt here.

Οὐιρί]ο̣υ̣. Probably there is no necessity to doubt that the *nomen* of this consul was Virius and that he was related to the Virius Nepotianus who was consul in A.D. 336, but the evidence is slight and there is some confusion about what it is, e.g. in P. Panop. 6. 12–13 n. (*ZPE* 7 (1971) 20–1) and, more seriously, in PLRE I.

First we must consider PSI VII 804. 14–16, because in PLRE I 624–5 it is stated that the consul's full name is recorded there. In the edition the passage runs:

14 ⟨m¹⟩] *καὶ Οὐϊρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ*
]*υ̣ τῶν λαμπροτάτων,*
] *Φαμενὼθ η'*. 4 Marzo 301ᵖ.

14 Suppl. [*Ὑπατείας* ⟨non è probabile *Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν*⟩ *Φλ. Ποστουμίου Τιτιανοῦ τό β'*].
15 [*τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίο*]*υ*?

However, the layout and the implausible suggestions for restorations in the notes rouse suspicion that we have here mention of the consuls of A.D. 336 rather than of A.D. 301. In 1970 I was able to inspect the papyrus in the Laurentian Library in Florence and transcribed it as follows:

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεί]*αν Οὐϊρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ*
καὶ Τεττίου Φακούν]*δο̣υ̣ τῶν λαμπροτάτων*
] *Φαμενὼθ η'*.

The date represents 4 March, A.D. 337.

In *CIL* vi 37118. 12 there appears in a list of eminent persons a Virius Nepotianus who is identified with the consul of A.D. 301. The *nomen* is damaged so that Vibius is palaeographically also possible, see A. Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, 77 (A.D. 301). It is most unlikely that Vibius is correct, but on the other hand there is no positive proof that this man is the consul of A.D. 301. The evidence for the consul's *nomen* in fact reduces itself to the initial *O*[in P. Flor. I 3. 24 and the final -]*ο̣υ̣* here, if the traces are correctly assigned to these letters.

However, it remains a very plausible hypothesis that this consul was a namesake of the consul of A.D. 336 and that he is the man mentioned in *CIL* vi 37118. 12.

4 For the systates cf. **3301** 5–6 and n.

5 Before *συστάτης* supply perhaps something like *ὁ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλεως*, but one might expect rather *συστάτης τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλεως*, cf. XIV **1627** 5–6. A participle might make a better supplement, if one of a suitable sense could be found.

6 ἐπικ[. Restore perhaps ἐπικ[αλούμενον, to be followed by another alias, or a patronymic, e.g. Ἐπικ[τήτου, which could be followed by τοῦ and the grandfather's name.

7 For the restoration cf. P. Lips. 39. 5–7, ἐχρῆν τοὺς ἅπαξ πειραθέντες (read -ας) ἐπιστρεφείας καὶ ἄρχοντος φόβου τοῦ λοιποῦ σωφρονεῖν.

8 One might restore perhaps ἠμελ]ηκέναι, since καταπεφρον]ηκέναι seems too long, but it is more likely that the genitives depend on ἀξίως, see *LSJ* s.v. ἄξιος III, and that some neutral word, e.g. πεποι]ηκέναι, is required.

9 Probably ἀνδρ[είας αὐτοῦ, alluding to the prefect; cf. 19 and CPR V 7. 9 n. for the use of this title. By way of stopgap one might think of ἐπειδὴ [ἡ τόλμα μέν]ει τὴν παρὰ τῆς ἀνδρ[είας αὐτοῦ διάγνωσι]ν, 'since the outrage is awaiting judicial cognizance from His Valiance'.

10 Probably it was τ]ῷδε τῷ μαρτυρο[ποιήματι, cf. VIII **1114** 23–4; by way of stopgap restore e.g. ἀ[ν]αγκαίως [παρέθετο τ]ῷδε τῷ μαρτυρο[ποιήματι, 'he necessarily recorded (it) in this affidavit', followed by ὁ (or καὶ) δημοσίᾳ προὔ]θηκεν, cf. 21.

10–14 From 12 we may perhaps guess that Isidorus had been appointed to some public service and failed to present himself. We might articulate περὶ γραφῆς λ[ειτ]ουργίας, cf. γραφὴ λειτουργῶν, e.g. XXXIV **2714** 5–6, but perhaps more likely is περιγραφῆς λ[ειτ]ουργίας, 'loss sustained by the public service'. This may also explain why the affidavit is drawn up by the systates, who was responsible for the appointment of liturgists, cf. P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, 30–47, esp. 36–7. On the other hand the ambiguity of αὐτοῦ in 14 leaves it doubtful whether the victim of the confidence trick was the wife of Isidorus or of the systates. If it was Didymus whose wife parted with the donkey, as seems more likely, that is sufficient reason for his action.

16 ἐπιτιμήσι (read -ει). This word appears to be used in an unusual sense. According to *LSJ* s.v. II. 2, it can mean 'rhetorical heightening by the use of a stronger term'. From this it might have come to mean by stages 'exaggeration', 'exaggerated claim', and here 'false claim'.

ἀπηλακέναι stands probably for ἀπηλλαχέναι, cf. Mayser–Schmoll I i 186–91 (simplification of doubled consonants), esp. 187 (λ for λλ), and 144–5 (κ for χ). In the translation this is regarded as transitive, 'took it away', but it may be intransitive, 'having secured it . . . he made off', cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἀπαλλάσσω A II.

Possibly, however, it might stand for ἀπεληλακέναι, 'drove it off', since reduplication frequently caused difficulties to writers of late Greek, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, 200–4.

17 κα]ὶ σήμερον ἡμέραι τρῖς. See Blass–Debrunner, *Grammatik d. neutest. Griechisch*[10], 95–6 (§§ 143–4), for this use of the nominative.

18 The superfluous trace at the end is perhaps a botched ε, the first letter of the next word.

19 ἐπιστρεφείου. The usual word is ἐπιστρέφεια and the form here is new. If genuine, it is presumably from an adjective ἐπιστρέφειος, whether it is neuter or masculine in this instance. However, the syntax is also suspect. One might expect οὐκ ἄλλου ἐστὶν ἐπιστρεφείας ἢ τῆς ἀνδρείας, 'is subject to the penal authority of none other than His Valiance'. But there is also the suggestion of contamination with οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐπιστρεφείας εἰ μὴ μόνον τῆς ἀνδρείας, 'is subject to the penal authority of none except only His Valiance'.

20 Κλωδίου. It looks as if the writer began to write Κλαυδίου and remembered in the process that Clodius was the correct name.

22 On the βενεφικιάριος στατίζων see P. Cair. Isid. 63 introd.

3305. Communication to a Logistes

48 5B.26/J(1–3)a 10·5 × 5·5 cm. 16 March, A.D. 313

This scrap, containing only the ends of four lines and traces of a fifth from the top of a document addressed to the logistes Ammonianus alias Gerontius, gives us a date

for him which is earlier by almost three years than the earliest hitherto known, that in VI **983** (= SB III 6003) 15 (cf. 4) of 21 February, A.D. 316, see 3 n.

The back is blank.

The next item also mentions Ammonianus and very probably dates from the earlier part of his tenure.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμ]ῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μ[α]ξιμίνου καὶ Φλαυίου
Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου Αὐτο]κρατόρων Σεβαστῶν τὸ γ̄ Φαμενὼθ κ̄
(nomen) Ἀμμωνιανῷ] τῷ καὶ Γεροντίῳ λογιστῇ Ὀξυρυγχίτου
c. 20–25 letters]. *τῆς λαμ(προτάτης) πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρέων. ὑπάρχι*
5 *c.* 50 letters].....[.....

. . . . .

1 *φλαυϊου* 4 *λαμζ″, ὑπαρχι,* l. *ὑπάρχει*

'In the consulship of our masters Galerius Valerius Maximinus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus Imperatores Augusti for the third time, Phamenoth 20. To Aurelius (or Valerius?) Ammonianus alias Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome. [From *X*. . . . from?] the most glorious city of the Alexandrians. There belongs to . . .'

1–2 The date is 16 March, A.D. 313. There is no possibility of restoring *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν* in place of *ὑπατείας* and assigning the document to A.D. 314. Maximinus Daia died while retreating before Licinius some time in summer A.D. 313 and was replaced by Licinius in the Egyptian dating formulas between 23 July (XLIII **3144**) and 13 September (P. Cair. Isid. 103, 20), cf. BGU II 409. 13 (25 November), BGU I 349. 14 (26 November). The post-consular dating of A.D. 314, therefore, named the consuls as Constantine and Licinius III, see P. Lond. III 975. 20 (p. 230).

3 For the question of which *nomen* we should supply here, *Οὐαλερίῳ* or *Αὐρηλίῳ*, see **3306** 1 n.

Dated documents relating to Ammonianus are, in chronological order:

3305	16 March, A.D. 313
VI **983** (= SB III 6003)	21 February, A.D. 316
I **53**	25 February, A.D. 316
VI **896** (= W*Chr*. 48)	1 April, A.D. 316
I **84** (= W*Chr*. 197)	1 November, A.D. 316
XXXIII **2675**	15 January, A.D. 318
PSI V 454	28 January–26 February, A.D. 320

He also appears in **3306**, which is undated. The next logistes, Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, is first known in office 30 July, A.D. 321 from VI **900** (= W*Chr* 437). For A.D. 321 as the date of **900** see P. Princ. Roll pp. 32–6. The old date of A.D. 322 is retained in the latest list of logistae (BASP 13 (1976) 38–40), which also omits XXXIII **2675** from the entries for Ammonianus alias Gerontius.

3306. Letter of a Logistes to a Prytanis

44 5B.61/G(2–3)a 16 × 25 cm. *c.* A.D. 314

The writer of this document broke off in the middle of the sixth line of text leaving the end of the line and two-thirds of the sheet blank. It is not obvious why he did so. The final word, which remains unread, may have contained some irremediable error,

and the *nomen* Aurelius for the logistes may also possibly be an error, though a significant one, see 1 n.

The hand, in which the letters vary greatly in size and are furnished with ugly hooks and flourishes, does not look like an official one, though it is not at all unpractised. The sheet is made of coarse papyrus. These considerations suggest the possibility that the text is writing practice or idle scribbling, in which case it is presumably a private copy of an earlier official document.

The prytanis to whom the letter is addressed is new, see 3 n.

The back is blank.

..] *Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμωνιανὸς ὁ*
καὶ Γερόντιος λογιστὴς Ὀξυρυγ(χίτου)
Αὐρηλίῳ Θέωνι ἐνάρχῳ πρυτά-
νει. ὁ κύριός μου διασημότατος
καθολικὸς Ἄρριος Διότιμος
ἐξ ὧν ε.[.]...α̣ι̣ (vac.)
(vac.)

2 *οξυρ̅υ̅γ̅*

'Aurelius Ammonianus alias Gerontius logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome to Aurelius Theon prytanis in office. My lord the most perfect *rationalis*, Arrius Diotimus, as a result of the things which . . .'

1 It is not clear whether the first word was indented by the space of two to three letters or whether there was something written before it. Certainly letters with even short descenders would have left traces below the tear.

The *nomen* Aurelius is interesting. In all other verifiable cases the logistes is called Valerius. Both of these names are status designations; the Aurelii are private citizens whose status derived originally from the *constitutio Antoniniana* and Valerius is the gentile name of the house of Diocletian, adopted by military and government officers before being replaced by Flavius, the gentile name of the house of Constantine. See in general J. G. Keenan, 'The names Flavius and Aurelius as status designations', in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33–63, id. 13 (1974) 283–304. He deals with logistae called Valerius in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 44–6, and discusses the identification of the logistes Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus with the town councillor called Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, concluding, tentatively, that they were the same person and that the name Valerius was a mark of his rank as logistes.[1]

This seems to receive confirmation from XLV 3256 of A.D. 317, where Aurelius Heron alias Sarapion ex-logistes (*ἀπὸ λογιστῶν*), is virtually certain to be identical with Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, logistes in A.D. 308–9.

Ammonianus as a successor of Heron was entitled to the name Valerius, which he always has elsewhere in the cases where the name can be checked. It may be that Aurelius is an error here—an understandable lapse if he bore that name before he became logistes—but equally it may be that the name Valerius was not conferred at the same time as the office of logistes, in which case he would have remained Aurelius at the beginning of his term of office before the new name was granted. This may be connected with the fact that the logistes (*curator*) was confirmed in office by an imperial letter, see J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 169 and n. 1. It may have conferred the imperial *nomen* at the same time.

[1] Dr. Coles points out that the strategus of A.D. 311, also called Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus (XXXIII 2668, P. Merton II 90), is likely to be the same man, since the strategus at this period was chosen from the local councillor class, see *CÉ* 35 (1960) 266.

There is a very similar variation between Aurelius and Flavius in the *nomen* of the logistes Sarapodorus of A.D. 373–4, see **3309–3311** introd., and the same hypothesis has been advanced to explain that case.

Apart from the name of Ammonianus himself, who was in office from A.D. 313 to 320, see **3305** 3 n., our only evidence at the moment, see below 3 n., for the date of this letter comes from the mention of Arrius Diotimus, see 5 n., and his only fixed date is 2 December, A.D. 314. Quite possibly, then, this document does belong to the early part of Ammonianus' service as logistes. Unfortunately the *nomen* is missing in the earliest dated document referring to it and we cannot be sure which of the two should be restored there, see **3305** 3 n.

3 The prytanis Aurelius Theon is new, that is, not in the lists in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 131–7. Since the office was annual, cf. ibid. 61–5, there is some prospect that new evidence will one day allow this letter to be assigned to an exact year.

5 For this *rationalis* see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 258, PLRE I 261. Only P. Flor. I 54 has a date for him, which is 2 December, A.D. 314, see above 1 n.

3307. Assessment of Gold and Silver

41 5B.86/B(11)a 21 × 27 cm. Early fourth century

This is an assessment of contributions measured in gold and silver bullion, listing numbers of persons who were liable according to the villages and smaller settlements of the eighth *pagus*. It is written across the fibres, though the back is blank. Possibly some stripping of the fibres of the back had already made it unfit for use in the normal way when the writer took it up.

No date is given, but the document must be subsequent to the creation of the *pagi* in A.D. 307/8, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 97–8, and a clue may be available from another papyrus from this layer, inv. 41 5B.86/B(3)a, which is addressed to the *praepositus* of the same *pagus* and dated to A.D. 309. However, **3307** cannot be firmly pinned down to this date. The handwriting would suit any date in the early fourth century.

The last two lines give the total number of persons and two weights of bullion, silver and gold. The weights are conveniently divisible by the number of persons, which strongly implies that each person was liable to contribute fixed weights of 2 grams or scruples (γράμματα) of gold and 1 ounce (= 24 grams) of silver.

If this list does indeed record a flat-rate individual contribution of 2 gr. gold and 1 oz. silver, the symmetry of these figures might suggest that the value of the contribution was theoretically supposed to be half of gold and half of silver at the proportion by weight of 1 : 12. Such evidence as we have indicates that the ratio of the monetary value of gold and silver fluctuated, see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 76–7, 94–5, 108, 138, 185–6, A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy*, 204. A similar and even lower fixed relation between gold and silver occurs in SB III 6086 and XII **1524**, where it is 1 : 10. In P. Brem. 83 introd. one village total is given as 2 lb. of gold and 25 lb. of silver, i.e. 1 : 12½, but it is not clear if this relation is maintained throughout. The evidence, in fact, is not enough to confirm that these ratios depend on notions of the values of the two metals. Other considerations may have influenced the fixing of the rates. However, the new fragments of the price edict from Aezani show that an

official ratio of 1:12 was in force in A.D. 301, with gold bullion at 72,000 den. (28. 1a) and silver bullion at 6,000 den. (28. 9), cf. M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani*, 114–15.

The purpose of these contributions is not known. It will shortly be shown that P. Cair. Isid. 89. 11–13—missed by me in *CÉ* 49 (1974) 163–74—firmly links the bullion contributions which were assessed in proportion to the assessment of grain taxes with the compulsory purchases of bullion by the state, see works by R. S. Bagnall forthcoming in *CÉ* 52 (1977), P. Col. VII 138–40 introd. The flat rate contributions of **3307** should, therefore, be unrelated to the imperial bullion purchases. For the taxes which might be collected in bullion see P. Cair. Isid. 69 introd.

κατ' ἄνδρα κήνcου παγ{ι}αρχίαc Τήεωc.
ἔcτι δέ.

Τήεωc ἄνδ(ρεc) ὑ̣π̣ο̣τ̣ε̣λ̣(εῖc)		*ρκθ*
Παώμεωc	*ἄνδ(ρεc)*	*ξδ*
Παλώcεωc	*ἄνδ(ρεc)*	*κγ*
Κεcμούχεωc	*ἄνδ(ρεc)*	*ια*
Θώλθεωc	*ἄνδ(ρεc)*	*δ*
Cούεωc	*ἄνδ(ρεc)*	*ιθ*
Δωcιθέου	*ἄνδ(ρεc)*	*ξε*

(vac.)

ἐποικιωτῶν ὁμ̣[οί]ω̣c

κώμηc Παώμεωc

ἐποικίου Μενε....ο̣υ, Διονυcίου cτρα(τηγ-) *ἀνὴρ* *α*

κώμηc Δωcιθέου, ...ίωνοc νυνὶ

τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμίου ἐποικ(ίου) π(ρότερον) Δωcιθέου *β*

ἐποικ(ίου) .....ο̣υ, Ἀcκληπιάδου Παυcῖριc ὑποτ(ελὴc) *α*

ἐποικ(ίου) Πετροκί̣, Διδύμου τοῦ κ(αὶ) Εὐδαίμονοc *γ*

ἐποικ(ίου) Cκ[υτ]α̣λ̣ί̣τιδοc, Ἀcκληπιάδου *α*

`τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἐ̣[πο]ι̣κ(ίου) Cκυταλίτιδοc, Λόγγου *α'*

τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἐποικ(ίου), Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῶν κοι(νωνῶν) *ε*

ἐποικ(ίου) Cα̣ρ̣α̣πᾶ, τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) καὶ τῶν κοι(νωνῶν) *ε*

(vac.)

κώμηc Cούεωc

ἐποικ(ίου) Cτρούθου, Ἀρτεμιδώραc *β*

3 *ανδ'ὑ̣π̣ο̣τ̣ε̣λ̣* 4–9 *ανδ'* 12 *cτρα) ανηρ'* 14 *ϊερωτατου*; l. *ταμείου*; *εποικ'π'* 15 *εποικ'* (also 16–20, 22–4); l. *Παυcίριοc*; *ϋποτ'* 16 *του*^{κ} 18 *α*$^{-}$ 19–20 *α*$^{-}$, *κο*$^{+}$

ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀλβίνου, Διονυσίου γ
ἐποικ(ίου) Ψανκερμᾶ ζ
(vac.)
25 γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτὸ) ἄνδ(ρες) ὑποτελ(εῖς) τμς
ἀσήμου λί(τραι) κη ὀγ(κίαι) ι, χρυς(οῦ) λί(τραι) β ὀγ(κίαι) δ¯ γράμ(ματα) κ.

25 γ, α¯ανδ'υποτ$^{\lambda}_{\epsilon}$ 26 $^{\lambda}_{\iota}$κηογ¯ιχρυς'$^{\lambda}_{\iota}$βογ¯δ¯γραμ)κ

'Individual list of an assessment for the pagarchy of Teis, viz:

'Teis	men liable	129
Paomis	men	64
Palosis	men	23
Cesmuchis	men	11
Tholthis	men	4
Suis	men	19
Dositheu	men	65

'Inhabitants of hamlets likewise:

'Village of Paomis:		
Hamlet of Mene . . ., (on property of?) Dionysius, (ex-?)strategus	man	1
'Village of Dositheu, (hamlet of?) . . . ion, now belonging to the most sacred Treasury, once a hamlet belonging to the village of Dositheu(?)		2
Hamlet of . . ., (on property of?) Asclepiades, son of Paysiris	liable	1
Hamlet of Petroki(?), (on property of?) Didymus alias Eudaemon		3
Hamlet of Skytalitis, (on property of?) Asclepiades		1
The same hamlet of Skytalitis, (on property of?) Longus		1
The same hamlet, (on property of?) Ptolemaeus and his partners		5
Hamlet of Sarapas, (on property of?) the same and his partners		5
'Village of Suis		
Hamlet of Struthus, (on property of?) Artemidora		2
Hamlet of Albinus, (on property of?) Dionysius		3
Hamlet of Psankerma		7
'Sum total of men liable:		346

Silver 28 lb. 10 oz.; gold 2 lb. 4 oz. 20 gr.'

1 *κατ' ἄνδρα*. This term should denote a list with entries under individual names, cf. e.g. XL **2930**, **2932**, but it is also used, as here, as a heading to show that the information below is extracted from such a list, cf. e.g. XL **2928**, **2929**.

κήνσου. The meaning here appears to be 'assessment'. In the papyri the word is rare and usually refers to the operations of the *censitores* who conducted land surveys in the late third and early fourth centuries, see CPR V 4. 7–8 n.

παγ{ι}αρχίας Τήεως. This appears to be an expression synonymous with '8th *pagus*', see especially XII **1448**, where the place-names offer many parallels to ours, and note the document referred to in the introduction here. The word *παγαρχία* is very uncommon before the sixth century, but a parallel is afforded by a probable use of *παγαρχεῖν* in C. Theod. VIII 15. 1 (before Constantine's death in May A.D. 337) to mean 'act as *praepositus pagi*', see M. Gelzer, *Studien z. byz. Verwaltung Ägyptens*, 96 n. 1, cf. XVII **2110** 4 n. (on *παγαρχία* in a papyrus of A.D. 370), J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 133 n. 4.

12 *Μενε....ου*. This hamlet is new. It is not *Μενεκράτους* (XLII **3046** 18), which is in any case in the territory of the village of Pakerke (eastern toparchy, cf. e.g. X **1285** 89) while this one is assigned to Paomis (formerly in the Thmoesepho toparchy, cf. e.g. X **1285** 122). Since hamlets often derive their names from former owners, the attempt has been made to match the traces with personal names in NB, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, and W. Pape, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, but without success.

Διονυcίου cτρα(τηγ-). Most of the hamlet names are followed, as here, by another name in the genitive. Perhaps this is the name of the owner of the property where the persons liable to contribute lived. Presumably Dionysius was a strategus or ex-strategus. In this context *cτρα(τιώτου)*, or the like, is less probable.

13 ....*ίωνος*. Perhaps *Cαπρίωνος* would suit the traces.

13–14 Probably *κώμης Δωcιθέου* should have occupied a separate line, cf. 11, 21. The next word may have been the name of a hamlet or it may be the usual genitive which I have taken as the name of a property owner, see 12 n. The first may be more likely, since 'now belonging to the . . . Treasury' answers the presumed purpose of the second.

15 The name of the hamlet looks as if it begins *κρ̣α̣ρ* and ends, after about two more letters, in *ο̣υ̣*; if so, it is not attested elsewhere.

Παυcῖριc. The ending is presumably genitive, *-ιc* = *ιοc*, as often, see *Class. Phil.* 43 (1948) 243–60, Mayser, *Grammatik*, I ii 21 n. 3. Probably it is the patronymic of Asclepiades, though just possibly *Ἀcκληπιάδου* is part of the hamlet name.

16 *Πετροκ̣ί*. Here the final stroke looks like iota. In XII **1448** 11 and P. Osl. III 119. 2, 9 it is transcribed *Πετροκ*( ), the final stroke being interpreted as a mark of abbreviation.

18 *Cκυταλίτιδοc, Λόγγου*. Cf. 17. In XII **1448** 12 (*c.* A.D. 318) *Cκυταλίτιδοc Λόγγου* was taken as the full name of the hamlet. Here the parallelism and the prefix *τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἐ̣[πο]̣ι̣κ(ίου)* seem to show that Longus was a property owner or a former owner who had given his name to some estate, and that his name denotes only a part of Skytalitis, which occurs without qualification at a later date, XVI **1916** 24, **2025** 28, **2032** 13, **2034** 19, **2035** 30, XVIII **2195** 15 etc., **2207** 31, cf. P. Iand. 51. 6.

This whole line has been added after 19 was written. The total (25) takes account of it.

20 *ἐπ. Cαραπᾶ*. Cf. XII **1448** 13.

22 *ἐπ. Cτρούθου*. Cf. XII **1448** 18.

23 *ἐπ. Ἀλβίνου*. This hamlet has not been identified elsewhere.

24 *ἐπ. Ψανκερμᾶ*. Cf. PSI IX 1081. 4, where the note implies that *Ψανωρμᾶ* (XII **1448** 19) is a misreading of the same. This seems very likely. Unfortunately the original of **1448** is in Baltimore and the authorities of the Johns Hopkins University say that they are unwilling to risk it in the hands of a photographer.

25–6 The calculations which seem to show a flat rate, see introd., are as follows:

Gold 2 lb. × 288	=	576 gr.
4 oz. × 24	=	96 gr.
20 gr.	=	20 gr.
		692 gr. ÷ 346 men = 2 gr. per cap.
Silver 28 lb. × 12	=	336 oz.
10 oz.	=	10 oz.
		346 oz. ÷ 346 men = 1 oz. (= 24 gr.) per cap.

II. DOCUMENTS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

3308–3311. Documents addressed to the logistes Sarapodorus

Sarapodorus, the logistes of A.D. 373–4, was not known hitherto, that is, he does not occur in the latest list in *BASP* 13 (1976) 38–40. These documents show a variation of his *nomen* between Aurelius and Flavius, which seems to be parallel with the use of both Aurelius and Valerius for the logistes Ammonianus alias Gerontius, see **3306** 1 n. As suggested there, it looks as if logistae acquired the imperial name by a separate grant some time after their entry to the office, though the grant of the name was no doubt connected with the office. Another case described there, that of Valerius, or Aurelius, Heron alias Sarapion, suggests that the *nomen* was not retained after the expiry of the term of service in the imperial administration.

3308. Undertaking on Oath

39 5B.120/B(1)a — fr. 1 8 × 15 cm. — 17 January, A.D. 373
fr. 2 12 × 10·5 cm.

Besides the mention of Sarapodorus, see above, we find here a new *praeses Augustamnicae*, Flavius Eumathius Parthenius, whose appearance allows us to presume that Oxyrhynchus remained in Augustamnica until at least this date, though other evidence had previously led to the conclusion that by A.D. 370 it had passed into Aegyptus, see 7 n.

The document is an undertaking by a stonemason to go somewhere and practise his trade, presumably in performance of a public duty, cf. H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 314–15, and the literature cited there. The damage makes it uncertain where he was to go. Fr. 1 has the ends of the first fifteen lines, which contained the prescript and the greater part of the body of the text. Fr. 2, slightly wider, has the last four lines, containing the subscription of an amanuensis, virtually complete. As little as one line may be missing between the fragments, but more could quite possibly be lost, see 14–15 n.

The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

μετὰ τὴν] ὑπατείαν Φλ(αουίου) Δομιτίου Μοδέστου καὶ
Φλ(αουίου) Ἀρινθέο]υ τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), Τῦβι κβ'.
Αὐρηλίῳ Ϛα]ραποδώρῳ λογιστῇ Ὀξυρυγχίτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλ]ίου Γούνθου Ἀμόιτος ἀπὸ κώμης
5 5–6 *λαο]ξόου. ἀκολούθως τοῖς προστα-*
χθεῖσιν ὑ]πὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ
λαμπροτάτου] ἡγεμόνος Φλαουίου Εὐμαθίου

1 *φλ'* 2 *λαμϛ''* 7 *φλαουϊου*

Παρθενίου ὁ]μολογῶ ὀμνὺς τὸν σεβάσμιον
θεῖον ὅρκον τ]ῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
10 *Οὐαλεντινιανο]ῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Γρατιανοῦ*
τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγο]ύστων ἐπὶ τῷ με ἀπαντῆσαι
c. 14 letters].....ις εἰ[ς] τὴν α.[.].ν[...
c. 13 letters] *τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐκεῖσαι* α..[.
c. 6 letters *ἀποπληρ]ῶσαι καὶ μὴ ἀπολιφθή-*
15 *σεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἀπο]λυθῶ ᾖ ἔνοχος*

. . . . .

fr. 2 . . . . .
(m. 2) *Α[ὐρ(ήλιος)] Γο[ῦνθος ὤμ]οσα τὸν θῖον ὅρκον*
καὶ ἀπαντήσω καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν
ἀποπληρῶσαι ὡς πρόκιται. Αὐρήλιος
Δωρόθεος Νίλου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

13 l. *ἐκεῖσε* 14 l. *ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι* 16 l. *θεῖον* 18 l. *ἀποπληρώσω, πρόκειται* 19 l. *Νείλου*

'After the consulship of Flavius Domitius Modestus and Flavius Arintheus, *viri clarissimi*, Tybi 22nd.'

'To Aurelius Sarapodorus, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Gunthus, son of Amois, from the village of . . ., stonemason. In conformity with the commands issued by the Might of my lord the most glorious *praeses*, Flavius Eumathius Parthenius, I agree, swearing the august, divine oath by our masters Valentinian and Valens and Gratian, the eternal Augusti, that I shall go . . . to . . . and there practise . . . my trade and shall not withdraw until I am released or (may I be) liable (to the penalties of the divine oath) . . .'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Gunthus, have sworn the divine oath and I shall go and practise my trade, as is aforesaid. I, Aurelius Dorotheus, son of Neilus, wrote on his behalf.'

3 For the restoration of *Αὐρηλίῳ* see **3309** 3. That document is clearly later than this one because the date clause names the consuls of A.D. 373, whereas this one, of 17 January, still uses the post-consular date by the consuls of A.D. 372. Sarapodorus presumably acquired the *nomen* Flavius later in his term of office, cf. introd. **3308–3311**, **3310** 4, **3311** 1.

5 *λαο]ξόου*. For this form cf. XVI **2041** 1 (*λαοξόου*, VI/VII A.D.), PSI VIII 955. 17 (*λαοξόῳ*, VI A.D.). The form most familiar in the papyri is *λαξός*. *LSJ* puts this and other variants under *λαοξόος*.

7 *λαμπροτάτου*. Cf. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 61–2.

The *praeses* has appeared before in P. Med. inv. 165. 7, 10, 13, 14, see *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 60–64. That document is dated in a consulship of Valentinian and Valens, i.e. A.D. 365, 368, 370, or 373, of which years the last is now seen to be the most likely. The first *cognomen* of the *praeses* was read as *Εὐμέτιος*, otherwise unattested. The plate (Tav. V) permits us to read *Εὐμάτιος*, though the doubtful vowel is very cursively written. For *τ* in place of *θ* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 92. The persons concerned in the document come from the Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite nomes, from which the editor properly concluded that the *praeses* was governor of Augustamnica. It seems virtually impossible that he was *praeses Thebaidos* because, firstly, we know of Julius Eubulius Julianus in that office in A.D. 372 and of a successor Flavius Eutychius in A.D. 373 (J. Lallemand, op. cit., 252), and secondly because Oxyrhynchus should not fall in the province of the Thebaid. He can only, therefore, be *praeses Augustamnicae*, and on this date, 17 January, A.D. 373, Oxyrhynchus must still fall in Augustamnica in spite of argument to the contrary, see J. Lallemand, op. cit., 54. The fact that in XVII **2110**, of A.D. 370, the prefect of Egypt is said to have arranged official appointments affecting the Oxyrhynchite nome must be taken to show that the prefect retained certain powers in the province of Augustamnica, not

that Oxyrhynchus had at that date been transferred from Augustamnica to Aegyptus. Lallemand's conclusions about the relations between prefect and *praeses*, ibid., 59–60, seem too definite.

8 This line suggests the correction of [ὑ]πολόγωϲ ὀμνύω in I **87** (= W. *Chr.* 446). 14–15 to [ὁ]μολογῷ ὀμνύϲ, and the damaged original can certainly be read in that way. The phrase is very common.

11–12 In I **87**17–19 we find ἀπαντῆϲαι ἅμα τοῖϲ εἰϲ τοῦτο{ν} ἀποϲταλεῖ[ϲ]ι [ὀ]φ(φικιαλίοιϲ), cf. P. Lips. I 45–55, all addressed to *officiales* by guarantors of travelling liturgists, but this cannot be reconciled with the traces in 12. The remains suggest an ending in -(ε)ίταιϲ, but no word in -ίτηϲ convincingly parallel with ὀφφικιάλιοϲ has been found. Something like [ἅμα τοῖϲ | ἄλλοιϲ τεχ]ν̣ε̣ί̣τ̣αιϲ or τε]χν̣ί̣τ̣αιϲ, 'along with the other craftsmen', would suit, but has little chance of being right.

12 α̣.[.].ν̣[.... A place-name is probably, though not necessarily, to be expected after εἰ[ϲ] τήν. Neither Ἀλεξάνδρειαν nor the standard epithet, λαμπροτάτην, can be recognized. After α̣ there is a descender with the foot hooked to the right; ρ is suggested, but β(?), ι̣, φ, and ψ(?) are possible, followed by a hole, which may have held a narrow letter or the first part of the letter represented by the first traces after the gap (α, ε, ϲ?). Not Ἀρϲινο-, unless mis-spelt Ἀρ̣[ϲ]ε̣ν̣[οι|τῶν πόλιν *vel sim.*

13 α..[.]. Perhaps restore an adverb to go with ἀποπληρῶϲαι; ἀμέ̣[μ]|[14]πτωϲ, cf. P. Flor. I 2. 23 and here 14–15 n., might suit, but may not be long enough to fill the space available in 14. Perhaps ἅμα̣ | [14] [ἄλλοιϲ . . . is possible too, cf. 11–12 n.

14–15 Cf. PSI III 162. 14–17 καὶ μὴ ἀπολειφθήϲεϲθαι ἔϲτ' ἂν ἀπολυθῶ εἰϲ τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχοϲ εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ. This is followed by a sentence naming two guarantors, a regnal year dating clause —not expected in this document, cf. 1–2—and a subscription. It is uncertain how much is missing here between 15 and 16. All that is essential is one line with εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ, but here too there may have been a clause naming guarantors.

15 Above the second omicron of ἔνοχοϲ and virtually continuing the line of the descender of the phi of ἀπολιφθή|[14][ϲεϲθαι] is an upright which remains unexplained. Probably it is accidental ink.

18 Probably ἀποπληρῶϲαι is simply an error caused by a memory of the same form in 14 and should be corrected to ἀποπληρώϲω, but both καί̀ϲ in 17 are uncertainly read, the second being written over something now uncertain, so that there is a possibility that some other construction was used. It is not possible to read ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντῆϲαι καί . . . ἀποπληρῶϲαι as in 11–14.

19 One expects ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ to be followed by μὴ εἰδότοϲ γράμματα or an equivalent. We may suspect that it has been accidentally omitted, but we cannot assume it. On questions of illiteracy and semi-literacy in general see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, ii 611–51.

3309. Application to a Logistes

A 13B B.5/7(b) 10×6 cm. A.D. 373

This is a mere scrap, with the central parts of the top five lines of a document. The first two lines contain a date clause by the consuls of A.D. 373, the middle one an address to the logistes Sarapodorus, who here has the *nomen* Aurelius, see 3 n. and introd. **3308–3311**, and the last two the names of persons applying to him.

The back is blank.

ὑπατείαϲ] τῶν δεϲποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεν̣[τινιανοῦ
καὶ Οὐ]α̣λέντοϲ αἰωνίων Αὐγούϲτων τὸ δ' [
Αὐρη]λίῳ Ϲαραποδώρῳ λογιϲτῇ Ὀ[ξυρυγχίτου
παρὰ] Αὐρηλίων Θωνίου Παρίων̣[ο]ϲ καὶ [
5 ....]ο̣υ καὶ Κοπρέωϲ Θ..[
. . . . .

'In the consulship of our masters Valentinian and Valens, eternal Augusti, for the fourth time (month?, day?). To Aurelius Sarapodorus, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Thonius, son of Parion, and Aurelius . . ., son of . . ., and Aurelius Copreus, son of Th . . .'

1 Lack of space excludes the restoration of *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν*. We can also see from **3310** 1–4 that early in A.D. 374 Sarapodorus probably had the *nomen* Flavius, not Aurelius as here.

2 At the end of the line month and day may have been specified, cf. **3308** 2, or the month only, cf. **3310** 3, or neither, cf. e.g. P. Lips. 85. 3; 86. 3.

In the early part of this year the dating clause refers to the consuls of the previous year, cf. **3308** 1–2. Unfortunately there are not many complete dating clauses of A.D. 373 and they do not allow any close dating of the change from the post-consular form. To judge from a search of WB III p. 76, WB Suppl. p. 355 and the indexes of SB VI–XI, the latest date in this form is **3308** 1–2 of 17 January, A.D. 373, and the earliest by the consuls of the year is in P. Mert. I 37. 1–2 of 3rd September.

3 *Αὐρη]λίῳ*. Lambda is certain. See introd. **3308–3311** for the significance of the alternation of Aurelius and Flavius.

4–5 The translation assumes that there was an entire name at the end of 4 and a patronymic at the beginning of 5 ending in]*ου*. Another possibility is that a longer name was divided between the lines and followed by an alias, *τ]οῦ καὶ Κοπρέως*, in which case the translation should read, '. . . and (from) Aurelius . . . alias Copreus, son of Th . . .'

5 *Θε̣.[* would suit well; the final traces perhaps favour *Θε̣ρ̣[* rather than *Θε̣ῳ[*.

3310. Application to a Logistes

40 5B.112/2(1–3)a 12·5×8 cm. 26 January–24 February A.D. 374?

Very serious damage has reduced this document to three tattered fragments, the largest and the only one transcribed here containing the first four lines virtually complete, significant remains of the next four, and mere traces of four more before the text breaks off. The other two scraps are joined by only a single horizontal fibre of the front and the remains of writing are too damaged for any useful transcript to be offered. The back, as far as it is preserved, is blank.

The information of value which the fragment offers is the latest date (if it is rightly read, see 3 n.) for the logistes Sarapodorus and the *nomen* Flavius, see introd. **3308–3311.**

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσπ[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν
Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ κα[ὶ] Οὐά[λεντος τ]ῶν αἰωνίων
Αὐγούστων τὸ δ̣, [Μεχ]ε̣ίρ. (vac.)
Φλαουίῳ Σαραποδώρ[ῳ λ]ο̣[γ]ιστῇ Ὀξυρυγχείτου
5 *παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πα.....* *Χωοῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς*
πόλεως. κεκτημε... *οἰκοπεδ̣[.]. ον.[.].*
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἀκολούθως τῇ γεγε̣νημένῃ εἰς̣
ἐμὲ πράς̣ε̣ι, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ διὰ τὴν παλεώτητα το.[.].[

8 l. *παλαιότητα*

...].[.].....οικοδομ...
10 .....].....λ....ς̣ο̣ν̣κ...
.....].... καταφρονο..
.....].....[.].....[...
. . . . .

3 The remains of the foot of the iteration figure suit δ. If we were to read γ, which is only just possible and very far from likely, the year would be A.D. 371; β, which is palaeographically possible, would indicate A.D. 369. The theory of the use of the imperial *nomen* advanced for the case of Ammonianus alias Gerontius, see **3306** 1 n., **3308–3311** introd, is that it was granted to logistae in connection with their office but separately from it and at a later date. If that theory is correct, the fact that in **3309**, dated to A.D. 373 by the same consuls for the fourth time, the *nomen* of the logistes is given as Aurelius, would compel the conclusion that **3310**, giving it as Flavius (4), is the later document, which means that we should read δ here and convert the date to 26 January–24 February, A.D. 374.

6 The traces at the end suggests οἰκοπέδ[ο]υ̣ ὄντ̣[ο]ς, which is hard to place in a good grammatical context. The first word might be κέκτημε (= κέκτημαι, cf. παλεώτητα, 8), but it is hardly possible to find space for an object, such as μέρος, after it; or the first word might be κεκτημένος *vel sim.*, which should take the accusative also, but οἰκόπεδον ὄν and οἰκόπεδα ὄντα do not suit the traces. If used as a substantive meaning 'owner', κεκτημένος might possibly be followed by a genitive, but no convincing sentence structure has yet been suggested. It may be suspected that κεκτημένο̣ς̣ οἰκοπέδ[ο]υ̣ ὄντ̣[ο]ς did stand here in spite of the loose grammar.

3311. Petition to a Logistes

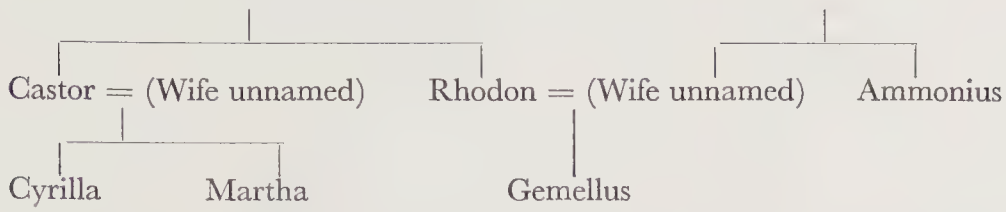
40 5B.116/A(1–2)a 25·5×27·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 373–4

An approximate date can be given to this document because of the appearance of the logistes Sarapodorus, see **3308–3310**. It should be later than **3308** and **3309** because he here has the *nomen* Flavius, see introd. **3308–3311**.

The two sisters who submitted the petition, Cyrilla and Martha, wished to recover the estate of a cousin on their father's side, Gemellus, who 'on the point of death allowed (?) the property left behind by him (to come?) under the control of' his maternal uncle, Ammonius (4–5). The text is doubtful here and it is not clear whether Ammonius became the full legal owner of the property or not. According to the women's narrative Ammonius died without leaving a will or naming heirs, but a certain Ammon was holding on to the estate unlawfully. They asked that he should be summoned and forced to make restitution to them.

Ammon is said not to be the heir (11), but probably this means only that he was not, according to the women, heir to the estate of Gemellus. Very likely he was next of kin and heir to Ammonius all right, but the textually doubtful and perhaps deliberately vague form of words in 4–5 was probably meant to imply that Ammonius was never the full legal owner of the estate of Gemellus. I am grateful to the University Press reader for suggesting this view of the case to me.

The family relationships are as follows:



All but Cyrilla and Martha were dead at the time of writing.

The document is blank on the back and virtually complete, though it has suffered some damage, especially to the lower left corner. The piece of papyrus seems to have been cut from near the beginning of a roll, because besides a normal join near the ends of the lines there is a join on the left and at that point the left-hand sheet shows vertical fibres. This suggests that it was the so-called *protocollon*, which was normally attached in this way to form a cover and guard sheet for the roll, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 5. The writing runs along the fibres of the second and third sheets except that in two places the crossbars of two letters have just strayed on to the *protocollon* (2, 9).

Φλαο[υίῳ] Cαραποδώρῳ (vac.) *λογιστῇ* (vac.) *'Οξυρυγχίτου*
παρὰ Αὐρ[ηλίω]ν Κυρίλλας καὶ Μάρθας ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ πατρὸς Κάστορος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως. [Γέ]μελλος υἱός ἐστιν 'Ρόδωνος ὄντος θείου ἡμῶν πρὸς πατρός,
ὃς μέλλων τελευτᾶν τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πράγματα εις.σεν ὑπὸ τὴν
5 *ἐξουσίαν Ἀμμωνίου τινός, ἀποτακτικοῦ, κατὰ μητέρα θείου αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντος,*
παρακελε[υ]όμενος μὴ δι' ὄχλου ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. συμβέβηκεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν
Ἀμμώνιον ἀποτακτικὸν ὄντα οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθεῖν.
τὰ δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου 'Γεμέλλου' πράγματα ἡμῖν ἀνῆκεν ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρικοῦ γένους
τυγχανούσαις. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὔτε βουλημάτιον ὁ Ἀμμώνιος συνεστήσατο
10 *οὔτε [ἀ]πέδειξεν κληρονόμους, ἀποτακτικὸς δὲ ὢν ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον,*
ἀλλ' Ἄμμων τις ταῦτα τὰ μὴ ἀνήκοντα αὐτῷ πράγματα μὴ ὢν κληρονόμος
κατέχει πρὸς βίαν, διὰ τοῦτο ἀξιοῦμεν τὴν σὴν ἐμμέλιαν ὥστε κελεῦσαι τὸν
αὐτὸν Ἄμμωνα παραστῆναι καὶ καταναγκασθῆναι, μὴ ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου
μηδὲ κληρον]όμο[ν] ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ Γεμέλλου πράγματα ταῖς οὔσαις
15 *ἐκ τοῦ πατρι]κοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἵνα δυνηθῶμεν ἐκ τῆς σῆς βοηθείας μηδεμίαν*
περιγραφὴν ὑπομ]ένειν. (vac.)
(m. 2) *Αὐρήλιαι Κυ]ρίλλα καὶ Μάρθα ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος Θωνίου*
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ]τῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδυειῶν.

2]ν corr. from c?; *ἀπό* corr. from something now uncertain 3 *υἵος* 4 *ὑπ, ὑπο*
11 *αλλ'* 12 l. *ἐμμέλειαν* 13 *υἵον* 15 *ἵνα* 18 l. *εἰδυιῶν*

'To Flavius Sarapodorus, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Cyrilla and Aurelia Martha, both daughters of Castor, from the same city. Gemellus is a son of Rhodon, our uncle on our father's side. On the point of death he allowed(?) the property left behind by him (to come?) under the control of a certain Ammonius, a monk, who happened to be his uncle on his mother's side, exhorting us not to cause him any trouble. It came about that the said Ammonius, who happened to be a monk, not long after departed from among mankind. The property of the aforementioned Gemellus reverted to us, since we are of his father's family. Since, then, Ammonius neither drew up a will nor designated heirs, and lived his life to the end as a monk, but a certain Ammon is detaining by force this property that does not belong to him, not being the heir, for this reason we beg your Providence to order the said Ammon to make an appearance in court and to be compelled, since he is not a son of Ammonius or an heir, to restore to us the property of Gemellus, since we are of his father's family, so that as a result of your assistance we may be able to avoid suffering any loss.'

(2nd hand) 'We, Aurelia Cyrilla and Aurelia Martha, submitted the petition. I, Aurelius Theodorus, son of Thonius, wrote on their behalf since they do not know letters.'

4 *εις.σεν*. Just possibly *ε* should be read in place of *ς*; the next letter was very small, probably *α* rather than *ο*, which is usually larger in this hand. The best solution seems to be to understand the word as *εἴασεν*, transcribing it *εἴ{ς}ασεν*.

5 *ἀποτακτικοῦ*. The most detailed study of this word is by E. Wipszycka in *Le Monde grec* (*Hommages à C. Préaux*), 632–4; the evidence appears at first sight to support the conclusion that the term applies to coenobitic monks as distinct from hermits. The editor of XLIV **3203** took the opposite view, see ibid. 6 n., and it is noteworthy that the central figure of the small archive in P. Herm. Rees 7–10 is described as *ἀποτακτικός* in 9. 2, but as *ἀναχωρητής* (*vel sim.*) in 7. 21 and 10. 2. The translations 'recluse, hermit' are given in G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. I remain very uncertain of the exact meaning of the word. It may even not have had any very precise technical connotation, or if it had, the technical meaning may not have been strictly observed in practice.

[The Press reader has also suggested that the odd expression in 4, the failure of Ammonius to make a will, and the undertaking of the sisters not to make trouble for him may imply that an *ἀποτακτικός* was in strict theory not allowed to own property. This attractive suggestion recalls the hypothesis that the word actually means 'a monk who has renounced property', put forward in an unpublished dissertation which I have not been able to consult, namely M. Krause, *Das Apa Apollon Kloster in Bawit* (diss. Leipzig 1958), 213–14. This meaning is rejected by Wipszycka, op. cit., 634, because the documents undoubtedly show *ἀποτακτικοί* administering their own property, e.g. XLIV **3203**. Perhaps we should envisage the possibility that practice did not conform with theory, but it is hard to make any judgement on the present evidence.]

7 The expression *οὐ μετ' οὐ πολύ*, containing a pleonastic cumulation of the negative, and meaning 'soon, shortly after, not long afterwards', *vel sim.*, has appeared at least twice before in the papyri, BGU II 614. 14, M*Chr.* 96 ii 9 (= Archiv 1 (1900–1) 300 line 9 = P. Bour. 20. 27—in which version simply *οὐ μετὰ πολύ* is printed). In both places the first *οὐ* is bracketed as an unintentional repetition by the writer, but it has been pointed out that it should be retained, see BL I 56 (from BGU III index p. 3), *Archiv* 1 (1900–1) 311, and especially O. Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 40 n. 1. See also G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. *οὐ* (6).

10 *ο̣ὔ̣τ̣ε̣ [ἀ]π̣έ̣δ̣ειξ̣εν*. The reading, not entirely sure, may be supported by reference to P. Ryl. II 153. 15–17, *κληρονόμον . . . ἀποδείκνυμι*(*αποδιγνυμι* pap.) *τὸν ἀφήλικά μου υἱόν*.

12 For the official use of *ἐμμέλεια* cf. CPR V 12. 5 n.

14 *μηδὲ κληρον]ό̣μο̣[ν]*. This restoration seems very probable, cf. 11, but something else, e.g. *κατὰ τοὺς ν]ό̣μο̣[υς]*, is conceivable.

15–16 For the conjectural restoration *μηδεμίαν [περιγραφὴν ὑπομ]ένειν* cf. M*Chr.* 96 ii 18 *ἵνα μή . . . δοκοίη περιγραφήν τινα ὑπομένειν*.

III. PRIVATE LETTERS

3312. Private Letter

34 4B.74/F(1–3)d 10·2 × 17·5 cm. Second century

Suddenly, among the routine final greetings of this fragment of a private letter, the recipient is offered a piece of news which is very relevant to the now fashionable studies of imperial slaves and freedmen: 'Herminus went off to Rome and became a freedman of Caesar in order to take up official appointments.' As so often in private letters we get only a tantalizing glimpse of an interesting process.

The handwriting probably belongs to the middle of the second century. In many ways it resembles P. Lond. II 178 (a) and particularly (b) of A.D. 145 (pp. 207–8; Plates II No. 52), and it is somewhat like P. Mert. II 73 of A.D. 164.

. . . . .

c. 12 letters].[*c.* 8 letters
c. 10 letters]..υιο.[2–4
...] τ̣ὰ̣ ἀβάcκαντα `α̣ὐ̣τ̣´οῦ τέ-
κ̣να καὶ Ἰcιδώραν τὴν
5 ἀδελφήν cου καὶ Ἀθηναΐδα.
καὶ γράψον μοι ἀcπαλῶc
περὶ Διονυcαρίου ὅτι πόcων
μηνῶν ἐcτιν. ἀcπάζετ̣[αί
cε Γαΐ⟨α⟩ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτ̣[ῆc
10 καὶ ὁ cύμβιοc. γίνωc⟨κε⟩ οὖ̣[ν
ὅτι Ἑρμῖνοc ἀπῆλθεν ἰc Ῥώμ̣[ην
καὶ ἀπελεύθεροc ἐγένετ[ο
Καίcαροc ἵνα ὀπίκια λάβ[η̣.
ἀcπάζου πάντας τοὺc
15 cοὺc κατ' ὄνομα καὶ οἱ ⟨ἐ⟩μοὶ
πάντεc cε ἀcπάζονται.
ἐρρῷ̣c̣θ̣α̣ί̣ cε εὔχομαι.

Back (downwards)].ου Ὀξυρυγχ( )

(at foot, upside down in relation to the front, m. 2) ..ιcτη.

6 l. ἀcφαλῶc 11 l. εἰc 13 l. ὀφφίκια

'. . . (I greet your son and?) his children—may the evil eye not touch them—and Isidora your sister and Athenais; and write to me without fail about Dionysarion, how many months old she is. Gaia greets you and so do her children and her husband. You should know, then, that Herminus went off to Rome and became a freedman of Caesar in order to take up official appointments. Greet all your people by name. All mine greet you too. I pray for your health.'

2 The context implies that ἀcπάζομαι or ὁ δεῖνα ἀcπάζεται precedes something like τ]ὸν υἱόν [cου |[3] καὶ] τὰ ἀβάcκαντα ἀυτ'οῦ τέ |[4]κνα.

6 ἀcπαλῶc. For π in place of φ see Mayser–Schmoll I i pp. 145–6. Cf. 13 n.

9 Γαΐ⟨α⟩. This solution to the difficulty is suggested by the more obvious omission of letters in 10 (γίνωc⟨κε⟩ οὗ[ν) and 15–16 (οἱ ⟨ἐ⟩μοὶ πάντεc).

11–13 The straightforward background to assume is that Herminus was a *servus Caesaris* who had saved enough money to buy his freedom, cf. G. Boulvert, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le Haut-Empire romain*, 98–100. The traces of infiltration from outside the ranks of the *servi Caesaris* are rare and doubtful, see G. Boulvert, op. cit., 113, P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 36, H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene u. Sklaven*, 81–2. For the material advantages of the freedman's career see G. Boulvert, op. cit., 114–18.

13 ὀπίκια = ὀφίκια = ὀφφίκια. For π = φ cf. 6 n.; for simplification of double consonants in general see Mayser–Schmoll I i 186–191, but this one is not listed. The passages cited in S. Daris, *Il lessico latino*, s.v. ὀφφίκιον do not give another example of its use to mean 'official appointment', though this is a normal sense of the Latin word. In the papyri it is used most frequently of the bureaux of high-ranking officials.

15 οἱ ⟨ἐ⟩μοί. Mr. Parsons suggests that we should perhaps write οἱ 'μοί and regard it as a legitimate use of aphaeresis, cf. Mayser–Schmoll I i 135 (§ 29. 4a), F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 319–20.

19 Not κίcτην; possibly πιcτήν, with a rather broad pi; possibly ἐπιcτη. (unfinished?). I can detect no relevance to the letter.

3313. Private Letter

48 5B.25/H(1)a — 18 × 31 cm. — Second century

Apollonius and Sarapias, the senders of this agreeable letter, express their pleasure at the news of the forthcoming wedding of a young man who is presumably (see 4 n.) the son or stepson of Dionysia, the recipient. They regret that for business and health reasons they cannot attend, and then, in the most interesting section of the letter, they explain what arrangements they have made to supply flowers for the wedding.

Dionysia had ordered a large quantity of roses and 2,000 narcissi. Roses were not yet plentiful at the time. Only 1,000 could be found and, to make up for this, 4,000 narcissi were sent instead of 2,000.

In the next section Apollonius and Sarapias apparently refuse payment, saying that they love the children as if they were their own. They send greetings to the members of Dionysia's family and end the letter proper with a further assurance that they had done all they could to find as many roses as were wanted.

There follows a farewell formula probably in the hand of one of the senders. It is a practised and rapid cursive very different from the body of the letter, which is carefully written in a good upright professional-looking documentary hand. On the back is the address, written downwards along the fibres in a larger version of the first hand.

The document should probably be assigned to the second century. The main hand resembles that of the famous Gnomon of the Idios Logos, see R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri*, I Taf. 22, or BGU V Taf. 1, or W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 36. This was probably written down between A.D. 149 and 160, see BGU V p. 4, though it may possibly be somewhat later, see XLII **3014** introd. The use of the term διαλογιςμός makes it unlikely that **3313** could date from much later than A.D. 200, see 7 n.

Professor Turner would prefer to compare the hands of II **270** (Pl. VIII) of A.D. 94 and XXXI **2611** (Pl. X) of A.D. 193, which provide convenient *termini*, but he agrees with the suggested dating.

Ἀπολ[λώνι]ος καὶ Σαραπιὰς Διονυσίᾳ
(vac.) χαίρειν.
χαρ[ᾶς ἡμ]ᾶς ἐπλήρωσας εὐαγγελι̣σ̣α̣μένη
τὸν γ[άμον] τοῦ κρατίστου Σαραπίωνος καὶ εὐθέως
5 ἂν ἤλθ[ομε]ν διακονήσοντες αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν εὐκταιοτάτῃ
ἡμῖν ἡμ[έ]ρᾳ καὶ συνευφρανθησόμενοι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν
δι[αλο]γι̣σμὸν καὶ ὅτι ἀναλαμβάνομεν ἀπὸ νωθρείας
οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐλθεῖν. ῥόδα πολλὰ οὔπω γέγο-
νεν ἐνθάδε, ἀλλὰ σπανίζει, καὶ ἐκ πάντων
10 τῶν κτημάτων καὶ παρὰ πάντων τῶν στεφανη-
πλόκων μόλις ἠδυνήθημεν συνλέξαι ἃ ἐπέμ-
ψαμέν σοι διὰ Σαραπᾶ χείλια, τρυγηθέντων καὶ
ὧν ἔδει αὔριον τρυγηθῆναι. νάρκισσον ὅσην ἤθε-
λες εἴχομ̀εν', ὅθεν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔγραψας δισχειλίων
15 τετρακισχειλίαν ἐπέμψὰμεν'. οὐ βουλόμὲ̣θα' δέ σε
οὕτως κ[ατ]αγεινώσκειν ἡμῶν ὡς μεικρολόγων
ὥστε καταγελῶσαν γράψαι πεπομφέναι τὴν
τιμήν, ὁπότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τὰ παιδία
ὡς ἴδια τέκνα καὶ πλέον τῶν ἡμῶν τιμῶμεν
20 καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτὰ καὶ οὕτως χαίρομεν ἴσα
σοι καὶ [τ]ῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν. περὶ ὧν ἄλλων θέλεις
γρ[ά]ψο[ν ἡμ]ῖν. ἄσπασα[ι] Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
κράτιστον καὶ τοὺς ἀβασκάντους 'αὐτοῦ' Σαραπίωνα
καὶ Θέωνα καὶ Ἀριστόκλειαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα

7 νωθρείας, ε inserted in paler ink 14 εἴχομ̀εν', μ corr. from ν 15 βουλόμὲ̣θα', ε̣ corr. from αι 19 ἴδια 20 ἴσα

25 Ἀριστοκλείας. μαρτυρήσει σοι Σαραπᾶς περὶ τῶν ῥόδων ὅτι πάντα πεποίηκα εἰς τὸ ὅσα ἤθελες πέμψαι σοι, ἀλλὰ οὐχ εὕρομεν.

(m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχόμεθα, κυρία.

Back (m. 1) Διονυσίᾳ γυναικὶ (vac.) Ἀλεξάνδρου.

27 εὕρομεν altered from εὗρον

'Apollonius and Sarapias to Dionysia, greeting. You filled us with joy by announcing the good news of the wedding of the excellent Sarapion and we would have come immediately to serve him on a day greatly longed for by us and to share his joy, but because of the circuit sessions and because we are recovering from illness we could not come.'

'There are not many roses here yet; on the contrary they are in short supply, and from all the estates and from all the garland-weavers we could hardly get together the thousand that we sent you with Sarapas, even by picking the ones that ought to have been picked tomorrow. We had as much narcissus as you wanted, so instead of the 2,000 you wrote we sent 4,000.'

'We wish you did not despise us as misers so far as to laugh at us and write that you have sent the money, when we too regard the young people as our own children and esteem and love them more than our own, and so are as happy as you and their father.'

'Write to us about anything else you want. Give our greetings to the excellent Alexander, and to Sarapion and Theon—may the evil eye not touch them!—and to Aristoclea and to Aristoclea's children.'

'Sarapas will tell you about the roses—that I have made every effort to send you as many as you wanted, but we could not find them.'

(2nd hand) 'We pray for your health, lady.'

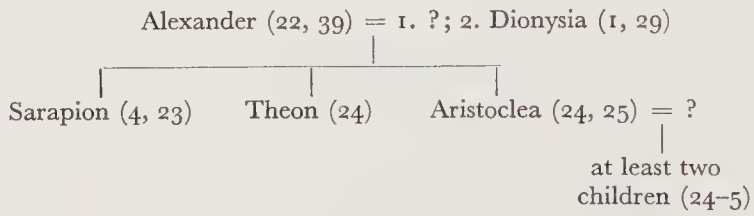
Back. (1st hand) 'To Dionysia, wife of Alexander.'

4 κρατίστου. Cf. 22–3, where the same word describes the father. The usage in these places is probably to be compared with that in P. Brem. 65. 10 and P. Giss. 26. 4, where the word is applied to the well-known Apollonius, strategus of Apollonopolis Heptacomias *c.* A.D. 113–120, and appears to be simply a term of respect. Cf. W. Bauer, *Wb. zum NT*, s.v. (2).

It might possibly be equivalent to Latin *egregius*, originally used of high equestrian officials but progressively debased till it could be acquired by the Egyptian middle classes, cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate*, 19–22; an especially interesting case occurs in IX **1204** 13–16 (A.D. 299). The present document is too early for this to be likely.

For *egregius* as a military title see *BASP* 13 (1976) 5–6.

Σαραπίωνος. The bridegroom is apparently the same as the son of Alexander greeted in 23. Dionysia is the wife of an Alexander, no doubt the same one (29). The use of αὐτοῦ, rather than σοῦ or ὑμῶν, in 23 perhaps suggests that Dionysia was the second wife and not actually the mother of the children of Alexander named in that sentence. This stemma will show what is envisaged, though it is conjectural to some extent:



7 δι[αλο]γισμόν. This refers to the periodic review of the financial and judicial affairs of each nome by the Roman governor, lately studied by G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto*

romano, 1 : *L'Organizzazione del 'Conventus' del 'Praefectus Aegypti'*. See pp. 165–7 for the decline and cessation of the use of the word in this sense by about the end of the second century.

Presumably Apollonius expected to be called to appear in court.

8–9 A papyrus of the reign of Antoninus Pius (SPP XXII 183. 76) attests that the festival called Rhodophoria began in the region of Socnopaeu Nesus on Mecheir 12 = 6 February, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 529. This was presumably a date by which a good supply of early roses could be expected. We may deduce that our letter was written near this time of year, possibly a little earlier, since the writer says that roses were not yet plentiful.

Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* vi 8, 5) says that roses and other flowers were even as much as two months earlier in Egypt than in Greece. Martial (vi 80) praises Domitian's winter roses by saying that they were better than Egyptian ones.

12 Sarapas is evidently the bearer of the letter as well as the escort of the flowers, see 25–7.

13–15 The rose bloomed later than the narcissus and was the latest of the spring flowers according to Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* vi 8, 2.

14 *εἴχομ'εν'*. Cf. 15 and 27 for other corrections of the first person singular to the plural. No doubt one of the parties drafted or dictated the letter on behalf of both. In 26 a singular verb has escaped correction.

3314. Letter of Judas

36 4B.95/E(1)a 14·5 × 21·5 cm. Fourth century

The plight of the writer, who lay injured and helpless after a riding accident, makes this letter more interesting than most. He was stranded in the Egyptian Babylon, about one hundred and twenty miles north of his home in Oxyrhynchus, after failing to find a passage on a boat. This is the letter he wrote to his father and his wife, asking the latter to come with her brother to look after him.

We might conclude from the names mentioned—Joses, Maria, Judas, and Isaac—that the letter originates from a Jewish family and circle, even though the writing indicates that it dates from the fourth century, when Christians began to use biblical names. Judas, because of the notoriety of Judas Iscariot, appears at first sight particularly improbable as a Christian name, cf. *CPJ* iii 501 introd., but Eusebius mentions a chronographer called Judas, living in the early third century, in words that make it virtually certain that he was a Christian (*H.E.* vi 7).

Moreover, in his mention of a 'cup of water' the writer may be alluding to the gospel of Mark 9:41, see 10–11 n.

κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Ἰωcῇ καὶ τῇ cυμβίῳ μου
Μαρίᾳ Ἰούδας.
προηγουμένωc εὔχομαι τῇ θίᾳ προνοίᾳ
περὶ τῆc ὑμῶν ὁλοκληρίαc ἵνα καὶ ὑγιαίνονταc
5 *ὑμᾶc ἀπολάβω. πᾶν οὖν ποίηcον, κυρία μου*
ἀδελφή, πέμψον μοι τὸν ἀδελφόν cου, ἐπιδὴ εἰc

ἰωcη 3 l. θείᾳ 6 l. ἐπειδή

νόcον περιέπεcα ἀπὸ πτώματος ἵππου.
μέλλοντός μου γὰρ cτραφῆναι εἰc ἄλλο μέροc,
οὐ δύναμαι ἀφ' ἐμαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄλλοι δύο ἄνθρωποι
10 ἀντιcτρέψωcίν με καὶ μέχριc ποτηρίου
ὕδατ[ο]c οὐκ ἔχω τὸν ἐπιδιδοῦντά μοι.
βοήθηcον οὖν, κυρία μου ἀδελφή. cπουδαῖόν coι
γενέcθω ὅπωc τὸ τάχοc πέμψηc μοι, ὡc
προεῖπον, τὸν ἀδελφόν cου. εἰc τὰc τοιαύταc
15 γὰρ ἀνάγκαc εὑρίcκονται οἱ ἴδιοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
ἵνα οὖν καὶ coὶ παραβοηθήcηc μοι τῷ ὄντι
ἐπὶ ξένηc καὶ ἐν νόcῳ ὄντι. καὶ πλοῖον
ἐπεζήτηcα ἐνβῆναι καὶ οὐχ εὗρον τὸν
ἐπιζητοῦντά μοι. ἐν τῇ γὰρ Βαβυλῶνεί εἰμει.
20 προcαγορεύω τὴν θυγατέρα μου καὶ πάν-
ταc τοὺc φιλοῦνταc ἡμᾶc κατ' ὄνομα.
(vac.)
καὶ ἐὰν χρίαν ἔχηc κέρματοc, λάβε παρὰ
Ἰcὰκ τὸν κολοβόν, τὸν ἔνγιcτά coι μένον[τ]α.
(vac.)
(m. 2) ἐρρῶcθαι ὑμᾶc εὔχομαι
25 πολλοῖc χρόνοιc.

Back ἀπόδοc cυμ.... ± 50 letters

16 l. cύ 18 l. ἐμβῆναι 19 l. Βαβυλῶνί εἰμι 22 l. χρείαν 23 l. τοῦ κολοβοῦ, τοῦ ἔγγιcτά coι μένοντοc

'To my lord father, Joses, and to my wife, Maria, Judas. To begin with I pray to the divine providence for the full health of you (both), that I find you well. Make every effort, my lady sister, send me your brother, since I have fallen into sickness as the result of a riding accident. For when I want to turn on to my other side, I cannot do it by myself, unless two other persons turn me over, and I have no one to give me so much as a cup of water. So help me, my lady sister. Let it be your earnest endeavour to send your brother to me quickly, as I said before. For in emergencies of this kind a man's true friends are discovered. So please come yourself as well and help me, since I am truly in a strange place and sick. I searched for a ship to board, but I could not find anyone to search on my behalf. For I am in Babylon. I greet my daughter and all who love us by name.'

'And if you have need of cash, get it from Isaac, the cripple, who lodges very close to you.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for the health of you both for many years.'

Address. 'Deliver . . .'

3 θίᾳ προνοίᾳ. The divine providence appears in Christian contexts but is not specifically Christian, see M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo*, p. 14. For a Jewish example see Philo, *In Flaccum* 125; other very similar phrases are listed in the index to Cohn's edition of Philo, s.v. πρόνοια.

6 ἀδελφή. No blood relationship is implied by his addressing his wife in this way, see S. Witkowski, *Epist. priv. gr.* 35. 1 n., H. Zilliacus, *Zur Sprache gr. Familienbriefe*, p. 31.

7 ἀπὸ πτώματος ἵππου. I have rendered this ambiguous phrase by 'as the result of a riding accident'. However, if he had meant 'when my horse fell' rather than 'when I fell off my horse', he would probably have put it more specifically. Possibly the expression deliberately avoids the direct admission that he fell off.

10–11 ποτηρίου ὕδατος. This is reminiscent of N.T. Mark 9:41, ὃς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ, cf. Matthew 10:42, καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ποτίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ποτήριον ψυχροῦ (ὕδατος ψυχροῦ some mss.) μόνον εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. Still, the resemblance is not sufficiently extensive to be treated as an undoubted quotation. Professor Turner has pointed out to me that the undoubted allusion to these passages in P. Abinn. 19. 8–10 is very nearly certain to be Christian, cf. P. Abinn. introd. p. 31.

For the grammar compare P. Tebt. I 56. 7–8, οὐκ ἔχομεν ἕως τῆς τροφῆς τῶν κτηνῶν ἡμῶν, P. Lond. I 77. 73, οὐκ ἔχω ἕως ἑνὸς τριμησίου, cf. Mayser II, 2 pp. 360–1, 525.

ἐπιδιδοῦντα = ἐπιδιδόντα. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 515. 2, 4 n., s.v. διδῶ.

16 See R. C. Horn, *Use of the Subjunctive*, 120–1, for other papyrus examples of commands expressed by ἵνα and ὅπως; cf. J. H. Moulton–N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* iii 94–5, T. Kalén, *Selbständige Finalsätze*.

19 The implication of γάρ is not perfectly clear. Babylon was the main military base in Egypt and directly on the Nile. It is hard to imagine that the difficulties of finding a boat would be greater there than elsewhere. Mr. Parsons makes the plausible suggestion that γάρ looks back to ἐπὶ ξένης (17).

22–3 παρὰ τόν κτλ. Since this letter is otherwise pretty correct, I suggest that the writer had in mind an expression such as 'go to Isaac and get it'; cf. P. Mich. VIII 476. 27, ὕπαγε παρὰ Κουρσίλλαν καὶ δέξαι. As the text stands we must correct the accusatives to the genitive.

23 κολοβόν. This might mean 'crippled' or 'short' and there is also an ethnic Κολοβός, see Pape–Benseler, *Gr. Eigenn.*, s.v.

ἔνγιστα. Possibly this means 'who lodges with you'. For ἔγγιστα meaning 'chez', see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, 62–3.

24–5 The second hand is apparently Judas' own, while the body of the letter, including what amounts to a postscript, 22–3, is in the hand of a scribe.

26 The address ran the whole length of the papyrus but the surface has been stripped and the remains are too scanty to be intelligibly represented by means of the Leiden system. After ἀπόδος the next word may be συμμάχῳ, 'letter carrier', cf. P. Cair. Isid. 80. 4 n.; it is not συμβίῳ or either of the appropriate names, see 1, or any usual formula. Probably the address was complicated because Judas was isolated. Instead of catching a friend going in the right direction, the usual private postman in ancient Egypt, he had to find a stranger, who was perhaps to hand the letter on to some official messenger who would have to have detailed instructions.

IV. SUB-LITERARY TEXT

3315. Greek–Latin Glossary

36 4B.92/E(a) 4×11·5 cm. First/second century

This scrap with parts of fourteen lines of Latin written in Greek letters comes from a glossary of the type described in the introduction to XXXIII **2660**. It contains parts of two sections, one on the signs of the zodiac, the other on winds. Very similar sections appear in some of the glossaries published in *CGL* Vol. iii, but in none of those do these two sections occur so close together. Nothing remains of the Greek equivalents.

The letters of the hand are upright informal capitals, clearly but not very evenly formed, with some unobtrusive serifs. It may be compared with C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 10 a, b, c, and should probably be assigned to the first century, possibly to the early second.

On the back in cursive writing running across the fibres and standing upside down in relation to the writing on the front is ἔτους[or ἔτους .[.

. . . . .

Cκορ̣π̣ι̣ω̣. [
Cαγιτταριουc [
Καπρικορνο[υc
Ακουαριουc [
5 Πιcκηc
δη ουεντειc [
ουεντουc
Ακουιλω
Αυcτερ
10 Αφρεικουc
Φαουωνιουc
Ουολτουρνουc
Cεπτεμ̣τ̣ριω
Cουβcωλανου[c

. . . . .

'. . . Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. De ventis: ventus, Aquilo, Auster, Africus, Favonius, Volturnus, Septemtrio, Subsolanus, . . .'

1 Cκορπιω̣. An extra nu would be a likely mistake for a Greek writer, but the final trace appears to be the foot of a single upright. Probably it was an intrusive iota. The previous line must have read Λιβρα or Λειβρα and could not have left any traces so low as this one. The order of the signs of the zodiac is the regular and natural one, cf. e.g. Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 1.

13 Cεπτεμ̣τ̣ριω. The second tau has been corrected from beta, an understandable lapse caused by a memory of 'September'. Lists of month names also appear in these glossaries. The mu has been left uncorrected and this orthography may be regarded as permissible; see Lewis & Short, s.v. septentriones.

INDEXES

Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or suppl. The article is not indexed.

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AUGUSTUS

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GAIUS

Γάϊος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός (Year lost) **3267** 4–5.

NERO

Νέρων Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ (Year 8) **3272** introd. 2–3.
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VESPASIAN

θεὸς Οὐεσπασιανός (Year 5) **3276** 10 **3277** 8 (**3278** 14) **3279** 13 **3282** 14 (**3283** 10).

DOMITIAN

Δομιτιανός (Year 11) **3283** 16.

TRAJAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Δακικός (Year lost) **3275** 37–9, 41–3
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. . . *Τραϊανός* . . . (Year lost) **3274** 26.
θεὸς Τραϊανός (Year 1) **3276** 17.

HADRIAN

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ANTONINUS PIUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἁδριανὸς Ἀντωνῖνος (Year 13) **3285** introd.
Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (Year 12) **3276** 8 **3277** 7 **3278** 10 **3279** 10 **3283** 8 [**3284** 8].

ELAGABALUS

ἀνόσιος Ἀντωνῖνος μικρός (Years 1–4) **3299** 2.
Ἀντωνεῖνος ὁ κόρυφ(ος) (Year 2) **3298** 2.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Ἀλέξανδρος (Years 1–4) **3299** 100.

GORDIAN III

Γορδιανός (Year 6) **3298** 10, 38.

PHILIPPI

Φίλιπποι (Year 3) **3298** 19.

DECIUS

Δέκιος (Year 1) **3298** 22.

GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Γάϊος Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάϊος Οὐίβιος . . . (Year 3) **3288** 12–14.

VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, AND (SALONINUS?)

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Πούπλιος Λικίννιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίννιος Γαλλιηνὸς Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς καὶ Πούπλιος . . . (Year 6) **3289** 19–22.

GALLIENUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίννιος Γαλλιηνὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός (Year lost) **3293** 23–6.

AURELIAN AND VABALLATHUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Δομίττιος Αὐρηλιανὸς Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς καὶ Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σεπτίμιος Οὐαβάλαθος Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ λαμπρότατος . . . (Year 2 and 5) **3294** 14–19.

DIOCLETIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός (Year 1) **3295** 20–1.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοί (Year 7 and 6) **3296** 17–19.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες (Year 17 and 16 and 9) **3304** 1–3.

GALERIUS AND LICINIUS AUGUSTI, MAXIMINUS AND CONSTANTINE CAESARS

ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ Λικιννίου τῶν ἀνικήτων Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων υἱῶν τῶν βασιλέων (Year lost?) **3270** 24–8.

VALENTINIAN, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς καὶ Οὐάλενς καὶ Γρατιανὸς οἱ αἰώνιοι Αὔγουστοι (no year) **3308** 9–11.

II. CONSULS

A.D. 300 *ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ'* **3301** 1–2.

A.D. 301 *ὑπατεί[ας Ποστουμίου Τιτιανοῦ (τὸ β'?) καὶ Οὐιρί]ου Νεπωτιανοῦ* **3304** 3.

A.D. 309 *ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱοῦ βασιλέων* **3270** 1–3.

A.D. 313 *ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου καὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου Αὐτοκρατόρων Σεβαστῶν τὸ γ'* **3305** 1–2.

A.D. 373 *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αουίου) Δομιτίου Μοδέστου καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Ἀρινθέου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων)* **3308** 1–2.

— *ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων τὸ δ'* **3309** 1–2.

A.D. 374 *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων τὸ δ'* **3310** 1–3.

III. MONTHS

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Ὀκτώβριος 3270 29.
Παῦνι 3275 43 3292 14 3293 [14], 26 3296 19 3304 3.
Παχών 3298 3.
Τῦβι 3297 7 3298 38.
Φαμενώθ 3305 2.
Φαρμοῦθι 3287 12.
Φαῶφι 3298 10.

IV. PERSONAL NAMES

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Ἄδυμος *see* Index V(*c*).
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Ἀθηναῖος, f. of Sarapas, s. of Sarapion 3268 5.
Ἀθηναῖς 3312 5.
Ἀθηνόδωρος *see* Index I s.v. Aurelian and Vaballathus.
Αἰδίνιος: M. Aedinius Julianus, *praef. Aeg.* 3286 12 (αιδειν- pap.).
Αἴλιος *see* Index I s.v. Antoninus Pius.
Αἰμιλλιανός: Mussius Aemilianus, *praef. Aeg.* 3290 11.
Ἀκυλειανός 3300 8.
Ἀλέξανδρος, h. of Dionysia 3313 22, 29.
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Ἀμμ[3298 21.
Ἄμμων 3311 11, 13.
Ἄμμων *see also* Index VI(*a*).
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Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Ammonius 3274 7, 35.
Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Ammonius, gt.-gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Paysiris 3283 14.
Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gd.-f. of Theon, s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Ammonius 3283 12.
Ἀμμώνιος, M. Aur., gymnasiarch, prytanis in office 3286 2.
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Ammonius 3274 6, 35.
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Πετ[.....]ς, m. Heras d. of Amois 3276 6.
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Sarapion ex-exegetes, gd.-s. of Sarapion, b. of Aur. Theoninus alias Sarapion and of Aur. Theon 3289 10.
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Ἀμόις, f. of Aur. Gunthus stonemason 3308 4.
Ἀμόις, f. of Heras 3276 7.
Ἀμόις, f. of Ptolemaeus 3300 12.
Ἀμόις, s. of Terentius, gd.-s. of Diogenes, m. Thaesis 3278 8.
Ἀμυντιανός, Aur. Chosion alias, systates 3301 5.
Αν.[3300 6.
Ἀνίκητος, dyer 3300 19, 20 (ανεικ- pap.).
Ἀντιφάτης, Aur., *vir perfectissimus* 3296 1.
Ἀντωνεῖνος *see* Index I s.v. Elagabalus.
Ἀντωνῖνος *see* Index I s.vv. Antoninus Pius, Elagabalus.
Ἀντώνιος: M. Antonius Spendon, φορολόγος 3273 2.
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Ἀρανάϊς, *capsarius* 3300 7.
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Ἀρίνθεος: Flavius Arintheus, consul [3308 2].
Ἀριστόκλεια 3313 24, 25.
Ἀρποκρ(), builder 3300 15.
Ἁρποκρατίων, f. of Sarapion, gd.-f. of Harpocration, gt.-gd.-f. of Sarapion 3282 13.
Ἁρποκρατίων, f. of Sarapion, s. of Sarapion, h. of Demetria alias Asclatarium 3282 2.
Ἁρποκρατίων, gd.-f. of . . . , f. of Dionysius 3274 [5], 33.
Ἄρριος: Arrius Diotimus, *rationalis* 3306 5.
Ἀρσινόη, d. of Sarapion, m. of Dionysius, w. of Dionysius alias Amois 3281 3.
Ἀρτεμιδώρα 3307 22.
Ἀσκλᾶς, Aur., [3295 25?].

Ἀσκλατάριον, Demetria alias, d. of Heracleides, m. of Sarapion, w. of Harpocration **3282** 4.
Ἀσκληπιάδης **3307** 15, 17.
Αὐγουρῖνος: A. Prifernius Augurinus, *idiologus* **3274** 1, 29 **3275** 10 (*αουγ-*).
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Αὖλος: A. Prifernius Augurinus, *idiologus* [**3274** 1?, 29?].
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Ἀφύγχιος, ποικιλτής, b. of Thonis **3300** 16, 17 (*Ἀφῦγχις*).
Ἀφῦγχις, f. of Aur. Sarapion **3270** 4.
Ἀχιλ( ), f.(?) of Paysas and Heraiscus **3300** 28.

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Γαλέριος see Index I s.v. Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 313).
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Διογ( ), linen-weaver **3300** 24.
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Διογενοῦς, d. of Dionysius, m. of Theon, w. of Theon [**3283** 3].
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Διονυσάμμων, Aur., ex-gymnasiarch, f. of M. Aur. Nepotianus **3286** 5.
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Διονύσιος **3300** 30 **3307** 23.
Διονύσιος, alias Amois, f. of Dionysius, s. of Dionysius, h. of Arsinoe **3281** 2.
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Διονύσιος, epiteretes **3268** 1.
Διονύσιος, f. of . . . , s. of Harpocration **3274** 4, 27?, 33.
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Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ . . . ώνιος, adoptive f. of Isidora d. of Apollonius **3271** 4.
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Διονυτᾶς, b. of . . . tria and Didymus, s. of Theon **3274** 11, 39.
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Διόσκορος, gd.-f. of M. Aurelius Eudaemon, f. of Heracleides **3295** 6.
Διότιμος: Arrius Diotimus, *rationalis* **3306** 5.
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Δομίτιος: Flavius Domitius Modestus, consul **3308** 1.

Δομίττιος see Index I s.v. Aurelian and Vaballathus.
Δωρόθεος, Aur., alias Nilus **3308** 19.

Ἑρμῖνος, Caesaris libertus **3312** 11.
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Εὐδαίμων, Aur., s. of M. Aurelius Eudaemon, gd.-s. of Heracleides, m. Aurelia Nice alias Taias **3295** 13.
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Εὐμάθιος: Flavius Eumathius Parthenius, *praeses Augustamnicae* **3308** 7.
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Ζηναγένης, Aur., strategus **3301** 3.
Ζωΐλος **3269** 14.

Ἡραΐσκος, s.(?) of Achil( ), b.(?) of Paysas **3300** 29.
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Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Demetria alias Asclatarium, gd.-f. of Sarapion **3282** 4.
Ἡρακλείδης, f. of M. Aurelius Eudaemon, s. of Dioscorus, h. of Tayris **3295** 6.
Ἡρακλῆς **3300** 23.
Ἡρᾶς, d. of Amois, m. of Ammonius, w. of *Πετ*[.....]*ς* (gen.) **3276** 7.
Ἡρᾶς, f. of Pnepheros, s. of Pnepheros, h. of Thatres **3280** 2.
Ἡρώδης **3296** 10.

Θ..[, f. of Aur. Copreus **3309** 5.
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Θαῆσις, m. of Amois, w. of Terentius, d. of Ptolemaeus **3278** 9.
Θαῆσις, m. of Terentius, w. of Diogenes, d. of Poseidonius **3278** 3.
Θατρῆς, m. of Aur. Pamunis, w. of Thonis **3292** 4.
Θατρῆς, m. of Pnepheros, w. of Heras **3280** 3.
Θεμόθις(?) *see* Index V(*c*) s.v. *Θεμόθεως*(?), *διῶρυξ Θ.*
Θεόδωρος, Aur., s. of Thonius **3311** 17.
Θερμούθιον, Aurelia **3304** 14.
Θέων **3313** 24.
Θέων, Aur., **3287** 13.
Θέων, Aur., exegetes, councillor, s. of Sarapion ex-exegetes, gd.-s. of Sarapion, b. of Aur. Theoninus alias Sarapion and of Ammonius **3289** 3.
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Θέων, Aur., s. of Sarapion, prytanis in office **3293** 8.
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Θέων, f. of Aur. Theon **3295** 3.
Θέων, f. of Lucilla alias Theonis **3296** 4.
Θέων, f. of Theon, s. of Theon, h. of Diogenus, gd.-f. of Paysiris, gd.-s. of Ammonius, gt.-gd.-s. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gd.-s. of Ammonius **3283** 2, 15.
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Θέων, patron of Plution **3275** 47.
Θέων, s. of Ammonius, f. of Ammonius, gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Paysiris **3283** 14.
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Θεωνῖνος, Aur., alias Sarapion, ex-chief priest, exegetes, councillor, s. of Sarapion ex-exegetes, gd.-s. of Sarapion, b. of Aur. Theon and of Ammonius **3289** 2.
Θεωνίς, Aurelia Lucilla alias, d. of Theon **3296** 4, [22].
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Θώνιος **3300** 9.
Θώνιος, Aur., s. of Parion **3309** 4.
Θώνιος, f. of Aur. Theodorus **3311** 17.
Θῶνις, b. of Aphynchis/Aphynchius *ποικιλτής* **3300** 18.
Θῶνις, f. of Aur. Pamunis, m. Thatres **3292** 4.
Θῶνις, fisherman **3300** 10.

Ἰούδας, h. of Maria **3314** 2.
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Ἴσεις, m. of Sabinus **3298** 40.
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Ἰσιδώρα, Alexandrian, d. of Apollonius, adopted by Dionysius alias . . . onius, m. of Claudius Potamon and Claudius Apoll( ) **3271** 3.
Ἰσίδωρος **3300** 13.

'Ισίδωρος, alias Apollonius **3304** 5.
'Ιωσῆς, f.(?) of Judas **3314** 1.

Καῖσαρ see Index I *passim*; II (A.D. 300); VII s.v. *ἀπελεύθερος Καίσαρος*.
Καιφάλων see Κεφάλων.
Καλλίας, b. of Harthoonis **3284** 2.
Καπίτων: Cn. Vergilius Capito, *praef. Aeg.* **3271** 1.
Κάστωρ, f. of Aurelia Cyrilla and Aurelia Martha **3311** 2.
Κεφάλων, f. of Horus priest **3275** 2, 44 (*Καιφ-*).
Κιχόϊς **3300** 32.
Κλαύδιος: Cl. Cleopatrus, *praef. Aeg.* **3301** 8 **3302** 1 **3303** 1.
Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλ( ), s. of Isidora d. of Apollonius **3271** 2.
Κλαύδιος Ποτάμων, s. of Isidora d. of Apollonius **3271** 2.
Κλεόπατρος: Cl. Cleopatrus, *praef. Aeg.* **3301** 8 **3302** 1 **3303** 1.
Κλώδιος: Clodius Culcianus, *praef. Aeg.* **3304** [8], 20.
Κόϊντος: Q. Sanquinius . . . inius Maximus *epistrategus* **3273** 1.
Κοπρεύς, Aur., s. of Th. **3309** 5.
Κορνηλιανός, Aur., *διασημότατος*, prytanis **3297** 1.
Κουλκιανός: Clodius Culcianus, *praef. Aeg.* **3304** [8], 20.
Κούρτιος: Curtius Paulinus, tribune **3279** 20.
Κυρίλλα, Aurelia, d. of Castor, sister of Martha **3311** 2, 17.
Κωνσταντῖνος see Index I s.v. Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 309; A.D. 313).
Κωνστάντιος see Index I s.v. Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Galerius Caesars; II (A.D. 300).

Λικιννιανός see Index I s.v. Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 309).
Λικίννιος see Index I s.vv. Valerian, Gallienus, and (Saloninus?); Gallienus; Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 309).
Λόγγος **3307** 18.
Λουκίλλα: Aurelia L. alias Theonis, d. of Theon **3296** 4, 22.
Λούκιος, Aur., s. of Lucius **3270** 7.
Λούκιος, f. of Aur. Lucius **3270** 7.
Λούκιος see Index I s.v. Aurelian and Vaballathus.

Μαξιμιανός see Index I s.vv. Diocletian and Maximian; Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Galerius Caesars; Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 300).
Μαξιμῖνος see Index I s.v. Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 313).
Μάξιμος: Q. Sanquinius . . . inius Maximus, *epistrategus* **3273** 1.
Μάρθα, Aurelia, d. of Castor, sister of Cyrilla **3311** 2, 17.
Μαρία, w. of Judas **3314** 2.
Μᾶρκος: M. Antonius Spendon *φορολόγος* **3273** 2.
Μᾶρκος: M. Aurelius Ammonius, gymnasiarch, prytanis in office **3286** 2.
Μᾶρκος: M. Aurelius Eudaemon, s. of Heracleides, gd.-s. of Dioscorus, m. Tayris, f. of Aur. Eudaemon **3295** 5, 23.
Μᾶρκος: M. Aurelius Nepotianus, s. of Aur. Dionysammon ex-gymnasiarch **3286** 4.
Μᾶρκος see Index I s.v. Diocletian and Maximian.
Ματρῖνος see Index V(*c*).
Μέλας, Aur., s. of Melas **3295** 4.
Μέλας, f. of Aur. Melas **3295** 4.
Μίκκαλος, gd.-f. of Terentius, f. of Diogenes **3278** 3, 15.
Μόδεστος: Flavius Domitius Modestus, consul **3308** 1.
Μούσσιος: Mussius Aemilianus, *praef. Aeg.* **3290** 11.
Μυ.....[**3300** 27.

Νεμεσιανός, Aur. Ptolemaeus alias, strategus **3292** 2.
Νεπωτιανός, M. Aur., s. of Aur. Dionysammon ex-gymnasiarch **3286** 4.
Νεπωτιανός see also Index II (A.D. 301).
Νέρουας see Index I s.v. Trajan.
Νέρων see Index I s.v. Nero.
Νίκανδρος, ex-royal scribe **3276** 11 [**3277** 9] [**3279** 14] **3282** 16 **3283** 11.
Νίκη, Aurelia, alias Taias, m. of Aur. Eudaemon, w. of M. Aurelius Eudaemon **3295** 11.
Νῖλος, Aur., alias Athenaeus **3295** 3.
Νῖλος, f. of Aur. Dorotheus **3308** 19.

'Ονωρᾶτος, (*praef. Aeg.*) **3296** 12.
Οὐαβάλαθος see Index I s.v. Aurelian and Vaballathus.
Οὐάλενς see Index I s.v. Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian; II (A.D. 373; A.D. 374).
Οὐαλεντινιανός see Index I s.v. Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian; II (A.D. 373; A.D. 374).
Οὐαλεριανός: Geminius Valerianus, *idiologus* **3287** 1.

Οὐαλεριανός see Index I s.v. Valerian, Gallienus, and (Saloninus?).
Οὐαλέριος see Index I s.vv. Diocletian; Diocletian and Maximian; Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars; II (A.D. 309; A.D. 313).
Οὐεργίλιος: Cn. Vergilius Capito, *praef. Aeg.* **3271** 1.
Οὐεσπασιανός see Index I s.v. Vespasian.
Οὐίβιος see Index I s.v. Gallus and Volusianus.
Οὐίριος see Index II (A.D. 301).

Πα-, Aur., strategus **3293** 1.
Πα.....(gen.), Aur., s. of Chous **3310** 5.
Παγᾶς **3300** 34.
Πάλλας(?), carpenter **3300** 31.
Παμμένης see Index V(*c*) s.v. *Παμμένους Παραδείσου.*
Παμοῦνις, Aur., s. of Thonis, m. Thatres **3292** 3.
Πανεσνεῦς, s. of Horus, priest **3275** 3, 44.
Πανεχώτης, f. of [.....]*ρις*, gd.-f. of Sarapion **3279** 9.
Παρθένιος: Flavius Eumathius Parthenius, *praeses Augustamnicae* [**3308** 8].
Παρίων, f. of Aur. Thonius **3309** 4.
Πασόϊς, fisherman **3300** 11.
Πατερμοῦθις, f. of Belles **3273** 7.
Παυλεῖνος: Curtius Paulinus, tribune **3279** 20.
Παυσᾶς, s.(?) of Achil( ), b.(?) of Heraiscus **3300** 28.
Παυσῖρις **3307** 15.
Παυσῖρις, s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Theon, m. Thaesis, gt.-gd.-s. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gd.-s. of Ammonius, gt.-gt.-gt.-gd.-s. of Theon, gt.-gt.-gt.-gt.-gd.-s. of Ammonius **3283** 7.
Παυσιρίων, s. of . . . , gd.-s. of Aperos, m. Didyme **3279** 2.
Πετεῦρις, gd.-f. of Peteyris(?), f. of Apollonius **3276** 2.
Πετεῦρις(?), s. of Apollonius, gd.-s. of Peteyris, f. of Ammonius, gt.-gd.-s. of Eubion, gt.-gt.-gd.-s. of Ptollion **3276** 2, [20?].
Πετοσῖρις **3277** 3.
Πλουτίων, freedman of Theon **3275** 46.
Πνεφερῶς, gd.-f. of Pnepheros, f. of Heras **3280** 2.
Πνεφερῶς, s. of Heras, gd.-s. of Pnepheros, m. Thatres **3280** 2.
Ποσειδώνιος, f. of Thaesis **3278** 3.
Ποστούμιος see Index II (A.D. 301).
Ποτάμων: Claudius Potamon, s. of Isidora d. of Apollonius **3271** 2.
Πούπλιος see Index I s.vv. Valerian, Gallienus, and (Saloninus?); Gallienus.
Πρειφέρνιος see Πριφέρνιος.
Πριφέρνιος: A. Prifernius Augurinus, *idiologus* **3274** 1, 29 **3275** 10 (*πρει-* pap.).
Πτολ[**3277** 12 (cf. 2?).
Πτολεμαῖος **3307** 19.
Πτολεμαῖος, Aur., alias Nemesianus, strategus **3292** 1.
Πτολεμαῖος, f. of *Δι*[*c.* 10], s. of P . . . **3277** 2, (12?).
Πτολεμαῖος, f. of Thaesis **3278** 9.
Πτολεμαῖος, s. of Amois **3300** 12.
Πτολλᾶς, Aur. **3287** 5.
Πτολλίων **3274** 24.
Πτολλίων, f. of Eubion, gd.-f. of Peteyris, gt.-gd.-f. of Apollonius, gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Peteyris(?), gt.-gt.-gt.-gd.-f. of Ammonius **3276** 15.
Πύρρος(?), f. of . . . m. of Peteyris **3276** 3.
Πύρρος, f. of Aur. Didymus alias Sarapion systates **3301** 6 [**3304** 4].

Ῥόδων, f. of Gemellus **3311** 3.

Σαβεῖνος, s. of Isis **3298** 40.
Σανκυίνιος: Q. Sanquinius . . . inius Maximus, *epistrategus* **3273** 1.
Σαραπάμμων, Aur., hyperetes [**3293** 22].
Σαραπᾶς **3313** 12, 25.
Σαραπᾶς, s. of Athenaeus, gd.-s. of Sarapion **3268** 5.
Σαραπιάς **3300** 22, 33 **3313** 1.
Σαραπίων **3291** 1 **3313** 4, 23.
Σαραπίων, Aur., s. of Aphynchis **3270** 4.
Σαραπίων, Aur., strategus **3289** 1 **3290** 5.
Σαραπίων, Aur. Didymus alias, s. of Pyrrhus, systates **3301** 5 **3304** [4], 25.
Σαραπίων, Aur. Theoninus alias, ex-chief-priest, exegetes, councillor, s. of Sarapion ex-exegetes, gd.-s. of Sarapion, b. of Aur. Theon and of Ammonius **3289** 2.
Σαραπίων, ex-exegetes, s. of Sarapion, f. of Aur. Theoninus alias Sarapion, Aur. Theon, and Ammonius **3289** 5.
Σαραπίων, f. of Arsinoe, gd.-f. of Dionysius **3281** 3.
Σαραπίων, f. of Aur. Theon prytanis in office **3293** 9.
Σαραπίων, f. of Sarapion ex-exegetes, gd.-f. of Aur. Theoninus alias Sarapion, Aur. Theon, and Ammonius **3289** 6.
Σαραπίων, gd.-f. of Sarapas, f. of Athenaeus **3268** 6.
Σαραπίων, gd.-f. of Sarapion, f. of Harpocration, s. of Harpocration **3282** 3, 12.
Σαραπίων, s. of Harpocration, gd.-s. of Sarapion, m. Demetria alias Asclatarium **3282** 2.
Σαραπίων, s. of Paysirion, m. [.....]*ρις* **3279** 8.
Σαραπίων, Serenus alias, royal scribe **3284** 4, 6.

Σαραπόδωρος, Aurelius (or Flavius), logistes **3308** 3 **3309** 3 **3310** 4 **3311** 1.
Σαρᾶς, Aur., **3296** 20.
Σεβαστός see Index I *passim*; II (A.D. 309; A.D. 313).
Σεουῆρος, s. of Apolinarius **3298** 9 (cf. 1).
Σεπτίμιος: Septimius Apollonius, *dioecetes* **3288** 4.
Σεπτίμιος see Index I s.v. Aurelian and Vaballathus.
Σερηνίλλα, Aurelia, d. of Syrion alias Eustochius ex-gymnasiarch, late councillor of Oxyrhynchus **3302** 2.
Σερῆνος, alias Sarapion, royal scribe **3284** 4, 6.
Σουτώριος: Sutorius Sosibius, ex-strategus **3276** 11 **3277** 9 (*Σου*]*τορίου*) **3279** 13–14 **3282** 15 **3283** 10.
Σπαρτᾶς **3291** 6.
Σπαρτιάτης, Aur., alias Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch, councillor **3290** 1.
Σπένδων: M. Antonius Spendon *φορολόγος* **3273** 2.
Στέφανος, Aur., s. of Horion, phylarch **3294** 3.
Στέφανος, f. of Ammonius **3301** 9.
Στρατονίκη, Aurelia **3296** 2.
Συρίων, alias Eustochius ex-gymnasiarch, late councillor of Oxyrhynchus, f. of Aurelia Serenilla [**3302** 2].
Σωσίβιος: Sutorius Sosibius, ex-strategus **3276** 11 **3277** 9 **3279** 13–14 **3282** 15 **3283** 10.

Ταϊάς, Aurelia Nice alias, m. of Aur. Eudaemon, w. of M. Aurelius Eudaemon **3295** 11.
Ταῦρις see Index V(*c*).
Ταῦρις, m. of M. Aurelius Eudaemon, w. of Heracleides **3295** 6.
Τερέντιος, s. of Diogenes, gd.-s. of Miccalus, m. Thaesis **3278** 2.
Τιτιανός see Index II (A.D. 301).
Τίτος see Index I s.v. Antoninus Pius.
Τούρβων, Aur., strategus **3294** 1.
Τραϊανός see Index I s.v. Trajan.
Τρεβωνιανός see Index I s.v. Gallus and Volusianus.
Τρύφων, Aur.(?), s. of Dionysius **3297** 4.

Φιλάμμων, vegetable-seller **3300** 21.
Φιλέας **3300** 13.
Φίλιππος see Index I s.v. Philippi.
Φλάουιος: Flavius Arintheus, consul [**3308** 2].
Φλάουιος: Flavius Domitius Modestus, consul **3308** 1.
Φλάουιος: Flavius Eumathius Parthenius, *praeses Augustamnicae* **3308** 7.
Φλάουιος: Flavius (or Aurelius) Sarapodorus, logistes **3310** 4 **3311** 1; cf. **3308** 3 **3309** 3.
Φλάυιος see Index II (A.D. 309; A.D. 313).

Χαιρήμων, Aur., councillor of Alexandria **3287** 3.
Χαιρήμων, Aur. Spartiates alias, ex-gymnasiarch, councillor **3290** 1.
Χωοῦς, f. of Aur. Pa . . . **3310** 5.
Χωσίων, Aur., alias Amyntianus, systates **3301** 4.
Χωσίων, f. of Aur. Dioscorus cosmetes **3293** 3.

Ὡρίων, Aur., s. of Theon, systates **3295** 3 **3301** 4.
Ὡρίων, f. of Aur. Stephanus phylarch **3294** 4.
Ὥρος **3300** 14.
Ὥρος, f. of Panesneus priest **3275** 3, 45.
Ὥρος, s. of Cephalon, priest **3275** 2, [43].

. . . *ίνιος*, Q. Sanquinius . . . inius Maximus, *epistrategus* **3273** 1.
. . . *τρία*, d. of Theon **3274** 3, 32.
. . . *ώνιος*, *Διονύσιος ὁ καί*, adoptive f. of Isidora d. of Apollonius **3271** 5.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL

(*a*) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, etc.

Αἴγυπτος [**3302** 1] **3303** 2 (*εγ-* pap.) **3304** 8, 20.
Ἀλεξανδρ- **3271** 5.
Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἡ λαμπροτάτη πόλις (*τῶν*) (**3287** 4) **3305** 4.
Ἀντινοεύς [**3296** 2–3].
Βαβυλών **3314** 19.
Γερμανικός see Index I s.vv. Gaius; Nero; Trajan; Valerian, Gallienus, and (Saloninus?); Gallienus; Diocletian and Maximian.
Γωνιώτης **3292** 12.
Δακικός see Index I s.v. Trajan.
Ἔγυπτος see Αἴγυπτος.
Λίβυς **3292** 12.
Λύκιος see Index V(*c*) s.v. *Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς*.
μητρόπολις **3272** 1.
Ὀξυρυγχ( ) **3312** 18.
Ὀξυρυγχίτης (nome) **3268** 4 **3270** 6 **3273** 4, 10 **3289** 1 **3290** 5 **3292** 2 **3293** 2 **3301** 3 **3305** 3 (**3306** 2) **3308** 3 [**3309** 3] **3310** 4 **3311** 1.
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν, ἡ κρατίστη βουλή **3286** 1.
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις **3289** 4 **3290** 3 [**3296** 4–5?].

'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις, ἡ λαμπρά **3294** (2), 5
'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις, ἡ λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη **3270** 4 (**3295** 1–2) [**3296** 3, 4–5?] **3297** 2–3 [(**3301** 6)] (**3302** 2–3) (**3304** 3, 5).
'Οξυρύγχων πόλις **3274** (5), 34 [**3275** 19] **3276** 3 [**3277** 3] **3278** 4 **3279** 3 (**3280** 3) **3281** 3 (**3282** 4) **3283** 3.
παγαρχία Τήεως **3307** 1 (*παγιαρχ-* pap.).
'Ρωμαῖος [**3295** 18].
'Ρώμη [**3312** 11].

(*b*) Villages, etc.

Ἀλβίνου (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 23.
Δωσιθέου **3307** 9, 13, 14.
Θῶλθις **3307** 7.
Κεσμοῦχις **3307** 6.
Μενε....ου (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 12.
Νεσμῖμις **3292** 5, 10.
Παλῶσις **3307** 5.
Παῶμις **3307** 4, 11.
Πέλα **3269** 3.
Πετροκί (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 16.
Σαραπᾶ (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 20.
Σενοκῶμις **3275** 4.
Σκυταλίτιδος (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 17, 18.
Σοῦις **3307** 8, 21.
Στρούθου (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 22.
Τακόνα **3273** 9.
Ταλαώ **3272** introd. 1.
Τῆις **3307** 1, 3 *see also* Index V(*a*) s.v. *παγαρχία Τήεως*.
Φοβόου, -ώου **3268** 11 **3287** 6.
Ψανκερμᾶ (*ἐποίκιον*) **3307** 24.

(*c*) Miscellaneous

Ἀδύμου (*κλῆρος*) **3288** 1.
Ἄνω Παρεμβολῆς (*amphodon*) **3276** 1, 21 **3277** 1, [5] **3278** 8
γ̄ (district of Alexandria) **3271** 6?
Δεκάτης (*amphodon*) **3282** 8.
Δρόμου Γυμνασίου (*amphodon*) **3272** 4 **3276** 14.
Δρόμου Θοήριδος (*amphodon*) **3272** 3.
'Ηρακλέους τόπων (*amphodon*) **3272** 6.
Θεμόθεως(?), *διῶρυξ Θ.* **3268** 9.
'Ιππέων Παρεμβολῆς (*amphodon*) **3279** 7 **3283** 6 **3295** 9, 28.
Κυν.[**3291** 3?
Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς (*amphodon*) **3272** 2.
Ματρίνου, θύραι Μ. **3270** 10, 13, [21], 24.
Μητρῴου (*amphodon*) **3272** 5.
Παμμένους Παραδείσου **3283** 13, 18.
Πλατείας (*amphodon*) **3272** 7.
Σενεμσεέ, (*περίχωμα*) **3270** 23.
Ταύρεως, θύραι Τ. **3269** 3 **3270** 10, [12].
....*εως* (*κλῆρος*) **3287** 9.

VI. RELIGION AND ASTROLOGY

(*a*) Religion

Ἄμμων **3275** 5 **3292** 7.
ἀνόσιος see Index I s.v. Elagabalus.
ἀποτακτικός **3311** 5, 7, 10.
ἀρχιερατεύειν **3289** 3.
'Ηρακλῆς see Index V(*c*) s.v. *'Ηρακλέους τόπων*.
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θεός **3275** 5 **3276** 10 **3277** 8 **3278** 14 **3279** 13 **3282** 10, 14 **3283** 10, 15 **3292** 8 *see also* Index I s.vv. Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian.
Θοῆρις **3275** 28 *see also* Index V(*c*) s.v. *Δρόμου Θοήριδος*.
ἱερεύς **3275** 5, 28 [**3292** 6].
ἱερόν **3275** 6, 15 **3292** 9.
ἱερός **3272** introd. 2 **3288** 11 **3307** 14.
μέγιστος **3275** 5 **3292** 8.
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ὅρκος **3275** 40, 46 **3295** 19, 24 **3308** [9], 16.
πρόνοια, ἡ θεία **3314** 3.
προφήτης **3292** 6.
σεβάσμιος **3308** 8.
συνιερεύς **3275** 8, 18.
σύνναος **3292** 8.

(*b*) Astrology (see also Index XII)

Ἄρης 3298 16.
Ἀφροδίτη 3298 25, 33 (personal name?).
Δίδυμοι 3298 14.
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Ζυγόν 3298 13.
Ἥλιος 3298 13.
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μοῖρα (3298 5, 6, 7).
Παρθένος 3298 15.
Σελήνη 3298 7.
Σκορπίος 3298 8, 16.
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ἀπελεύθερος Καίσαρος 3312 12–13.
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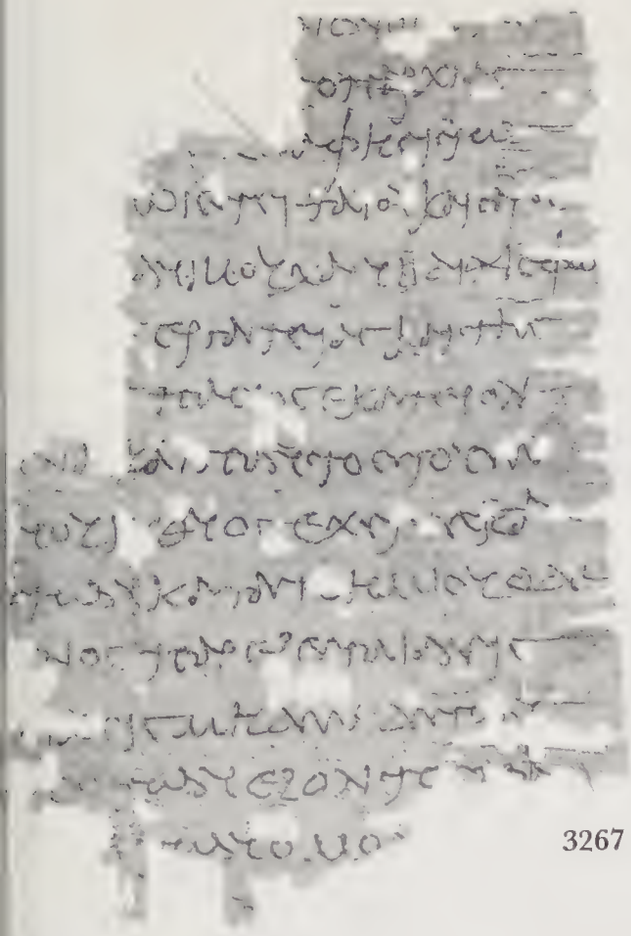

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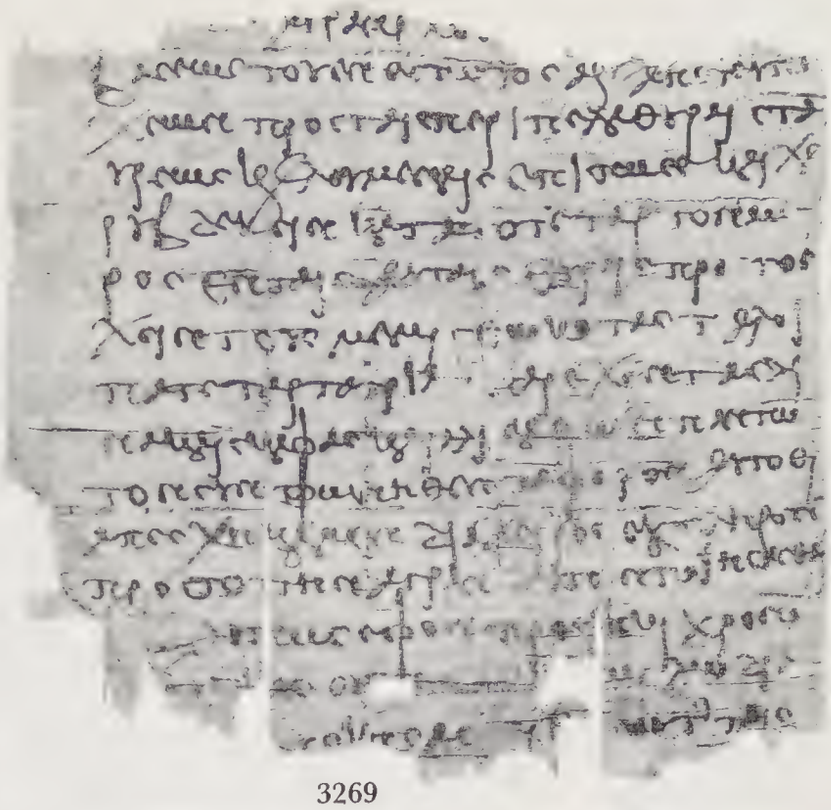

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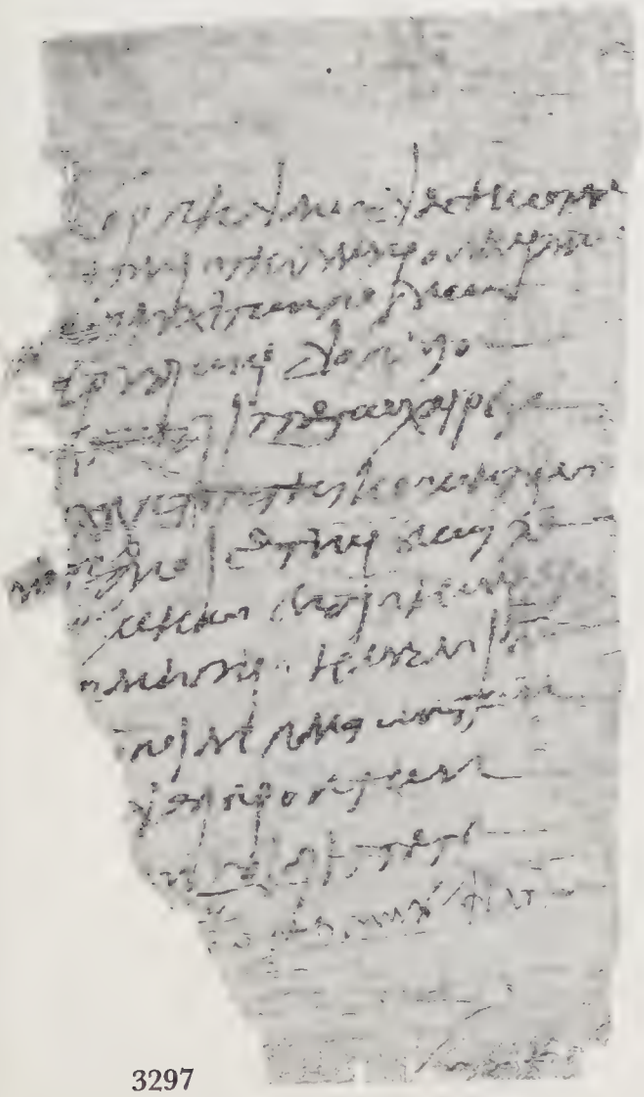

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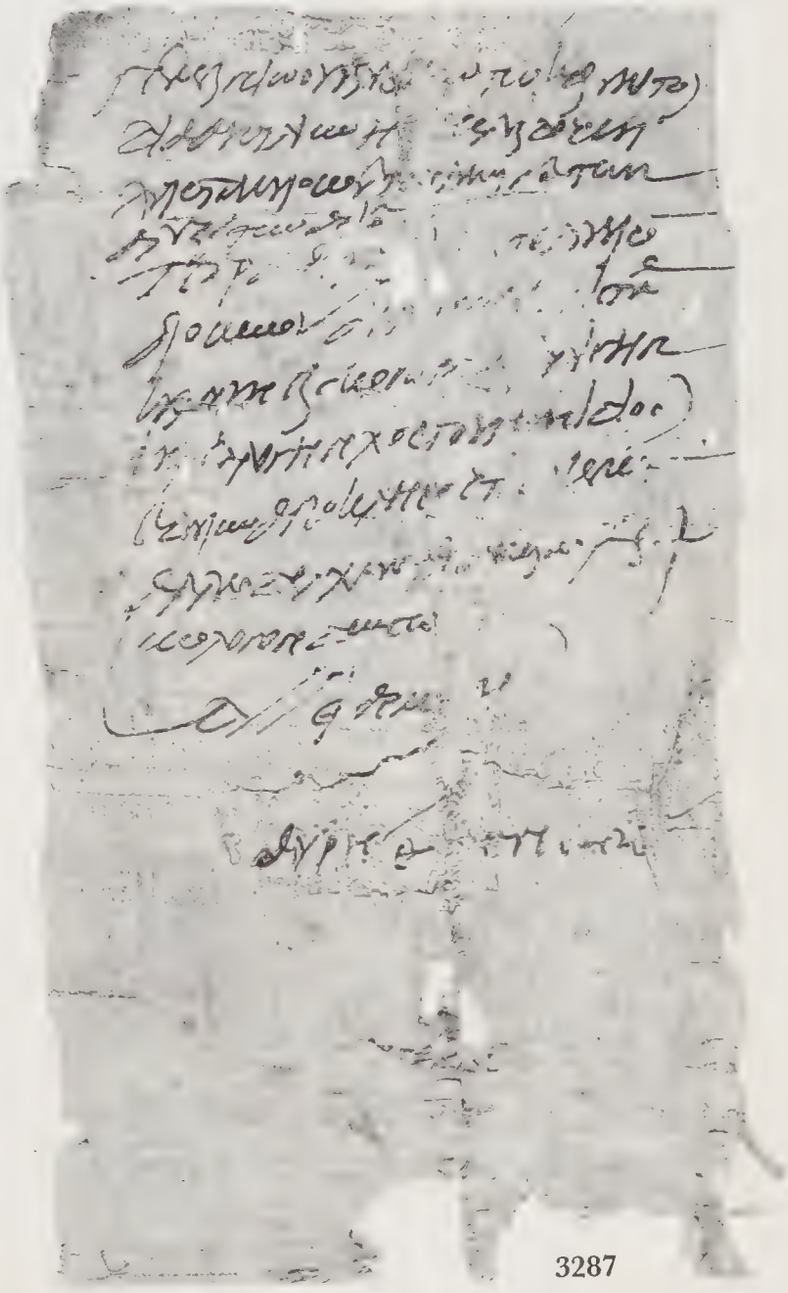

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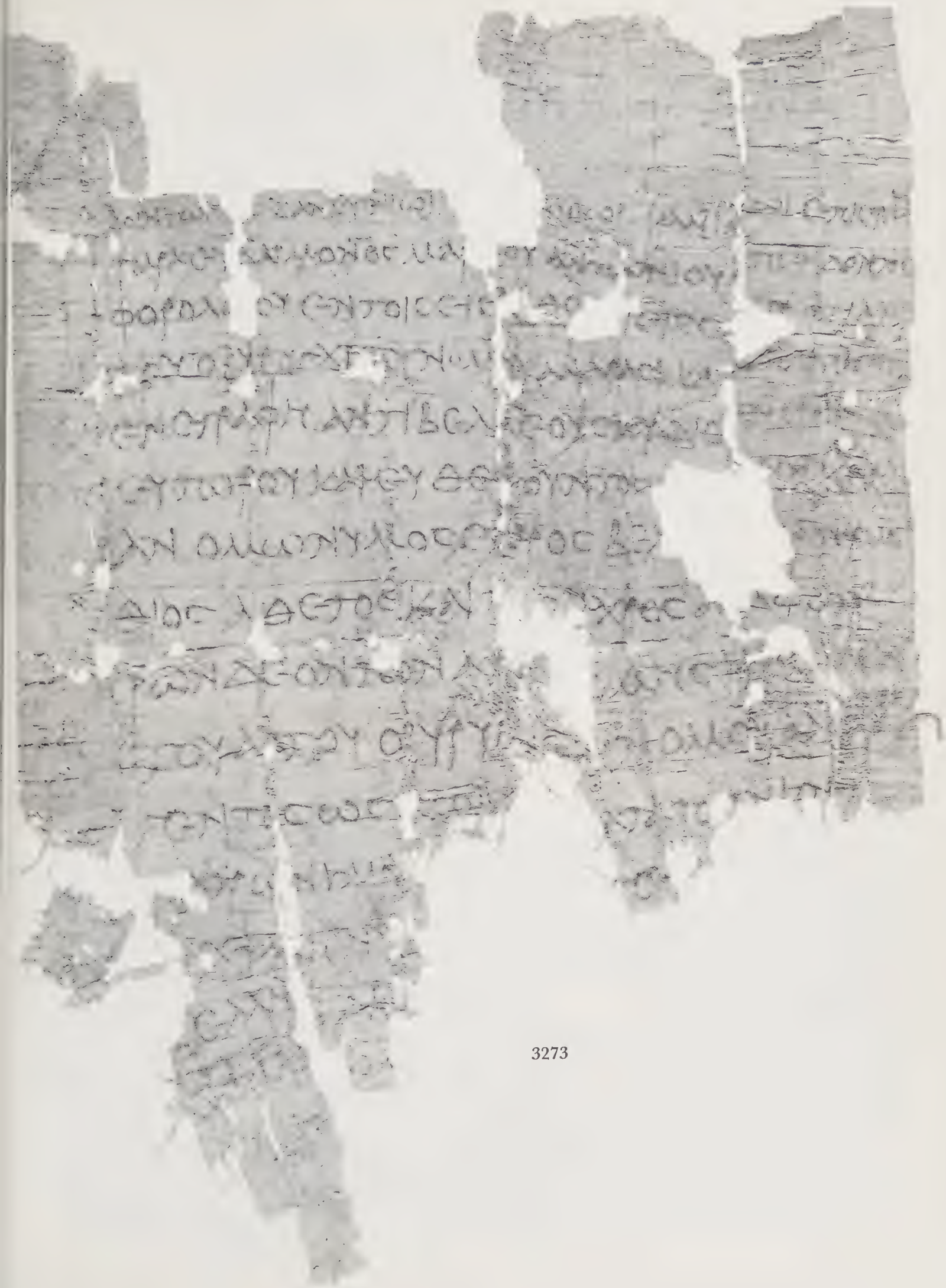

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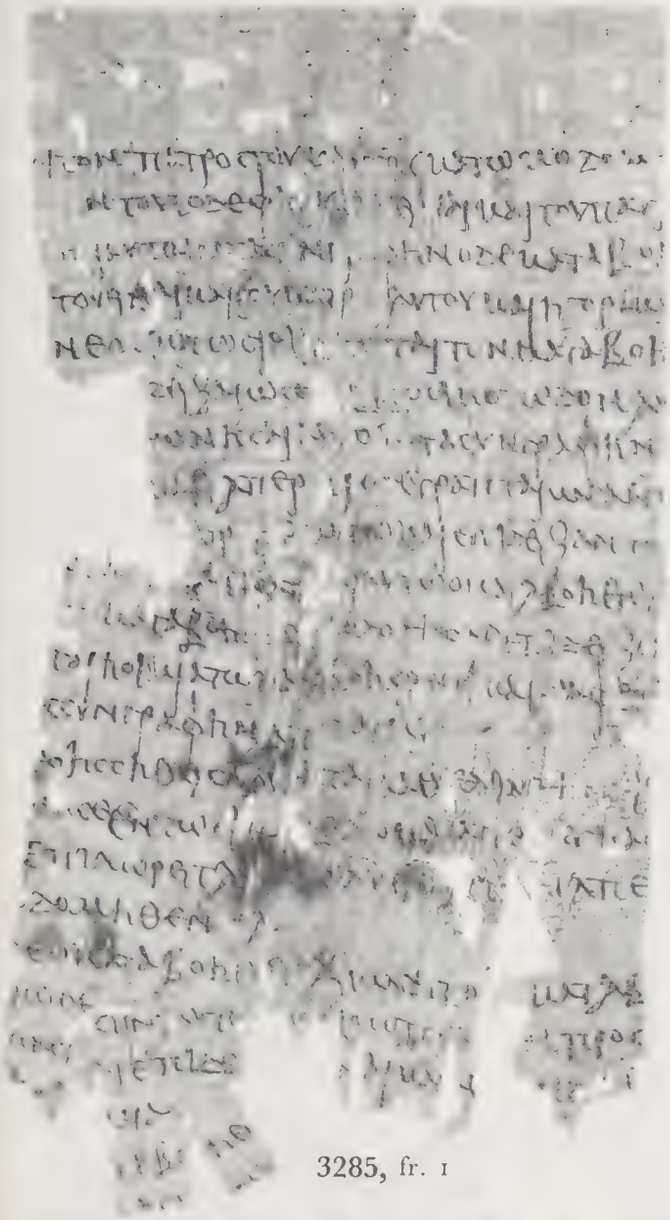

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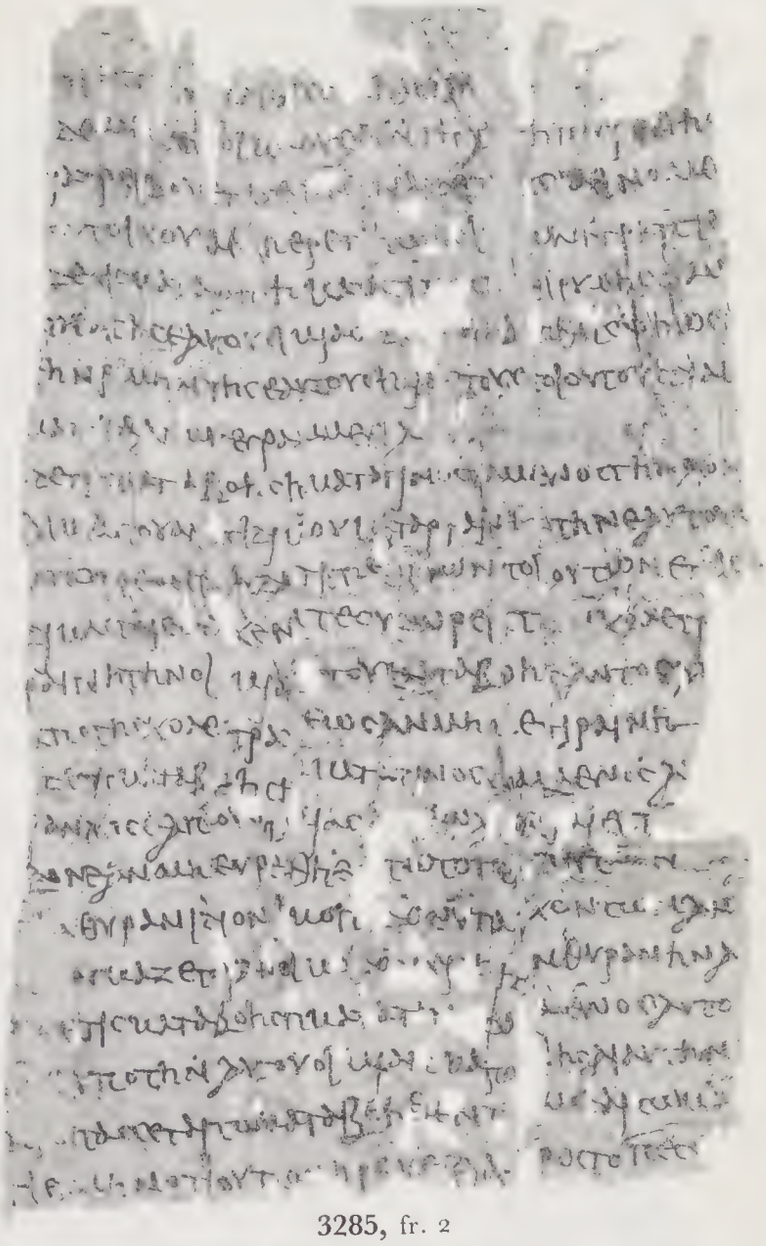

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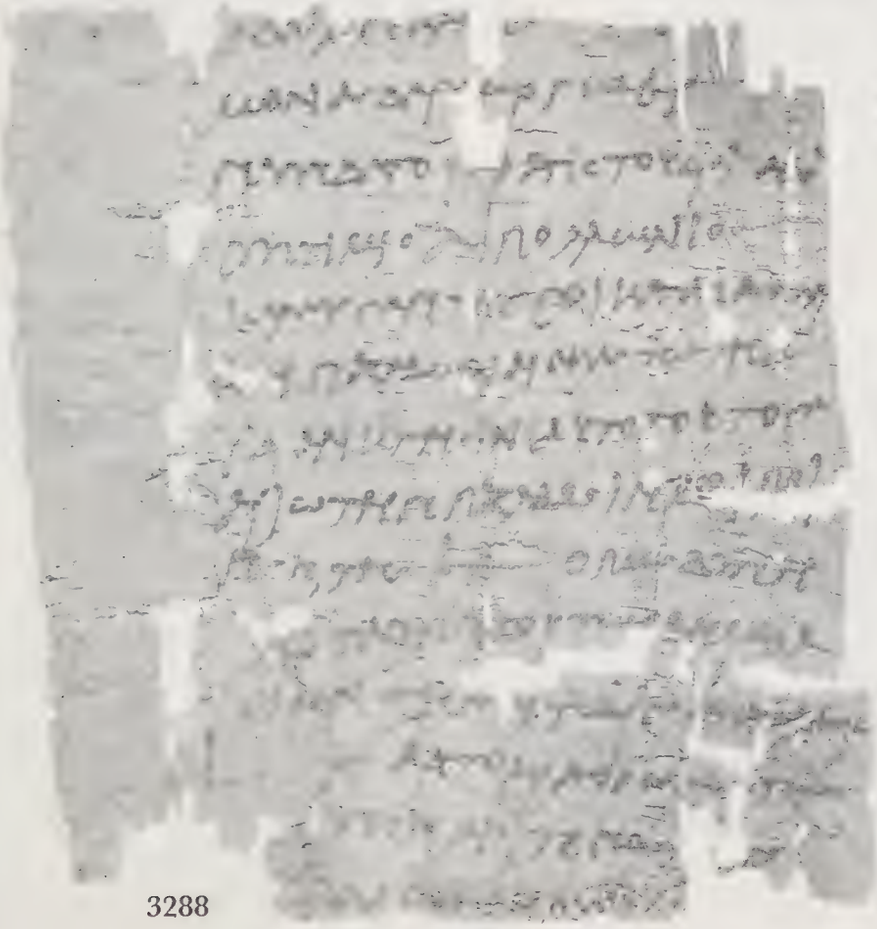

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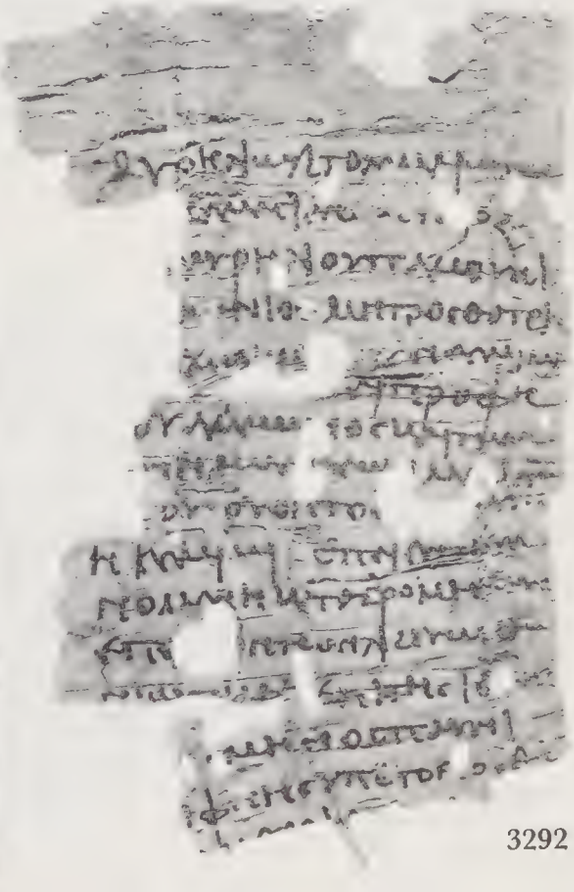

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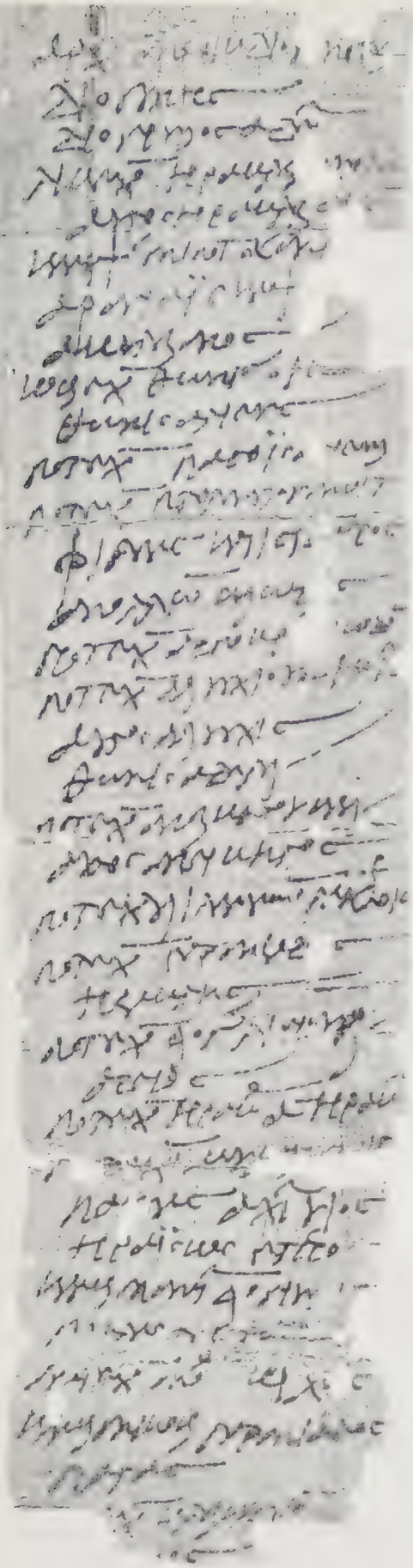

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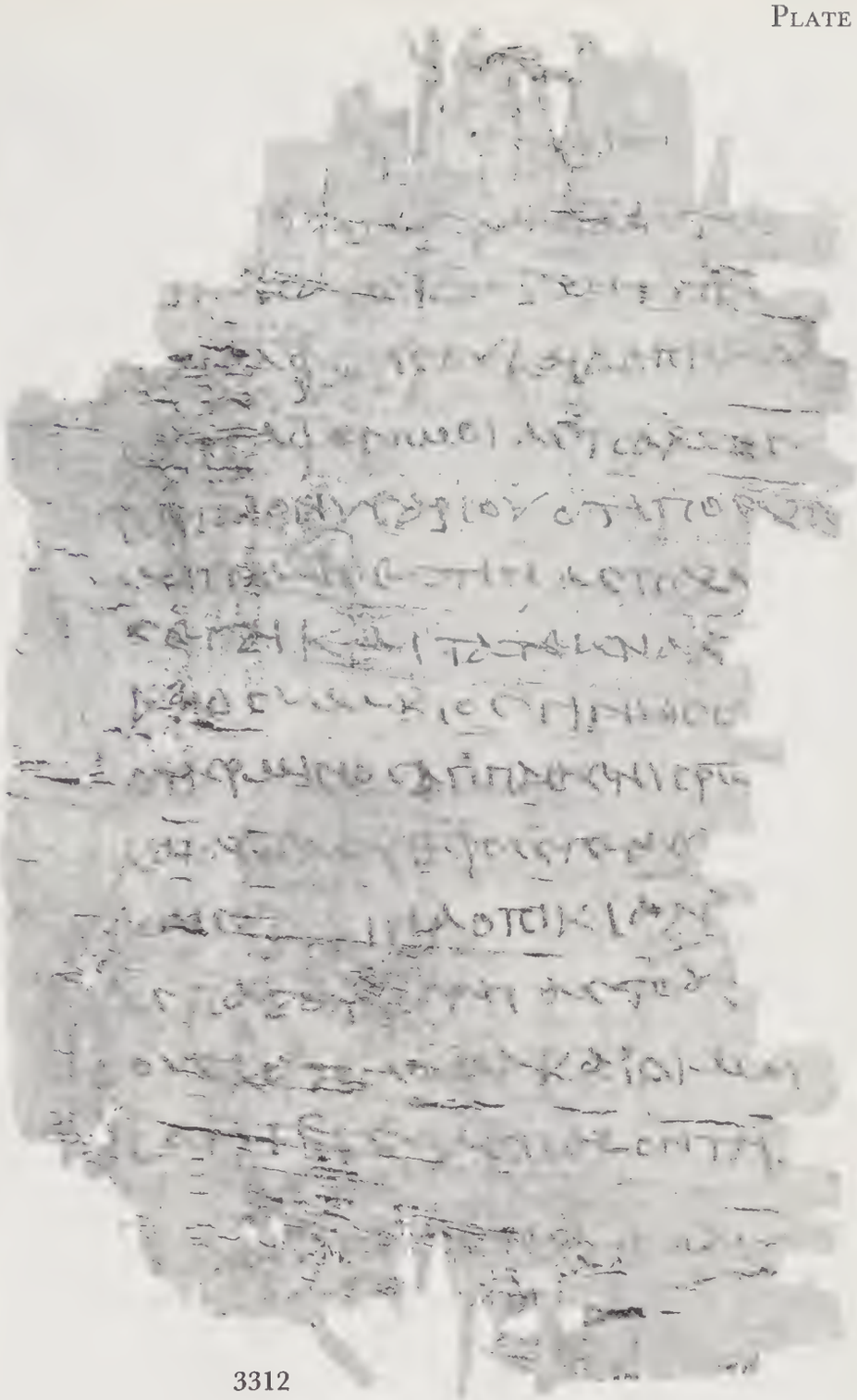

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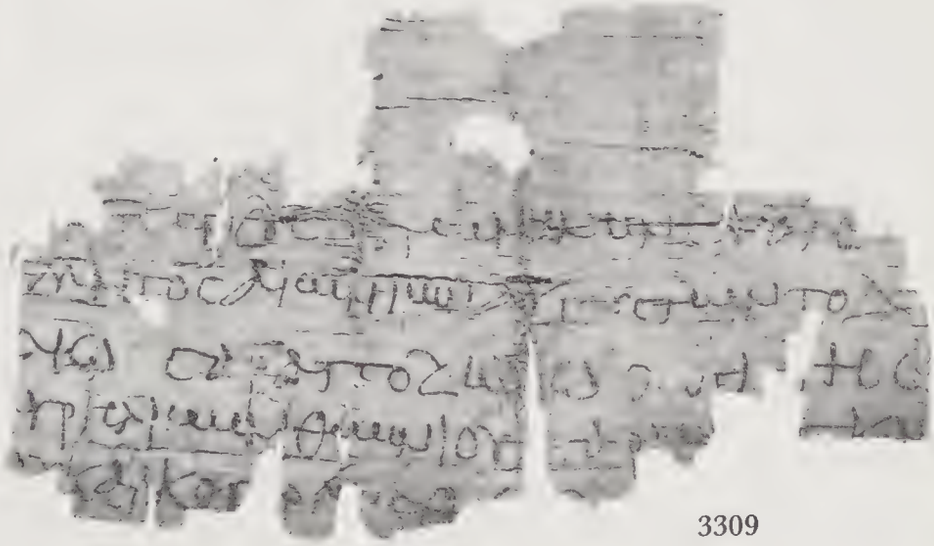

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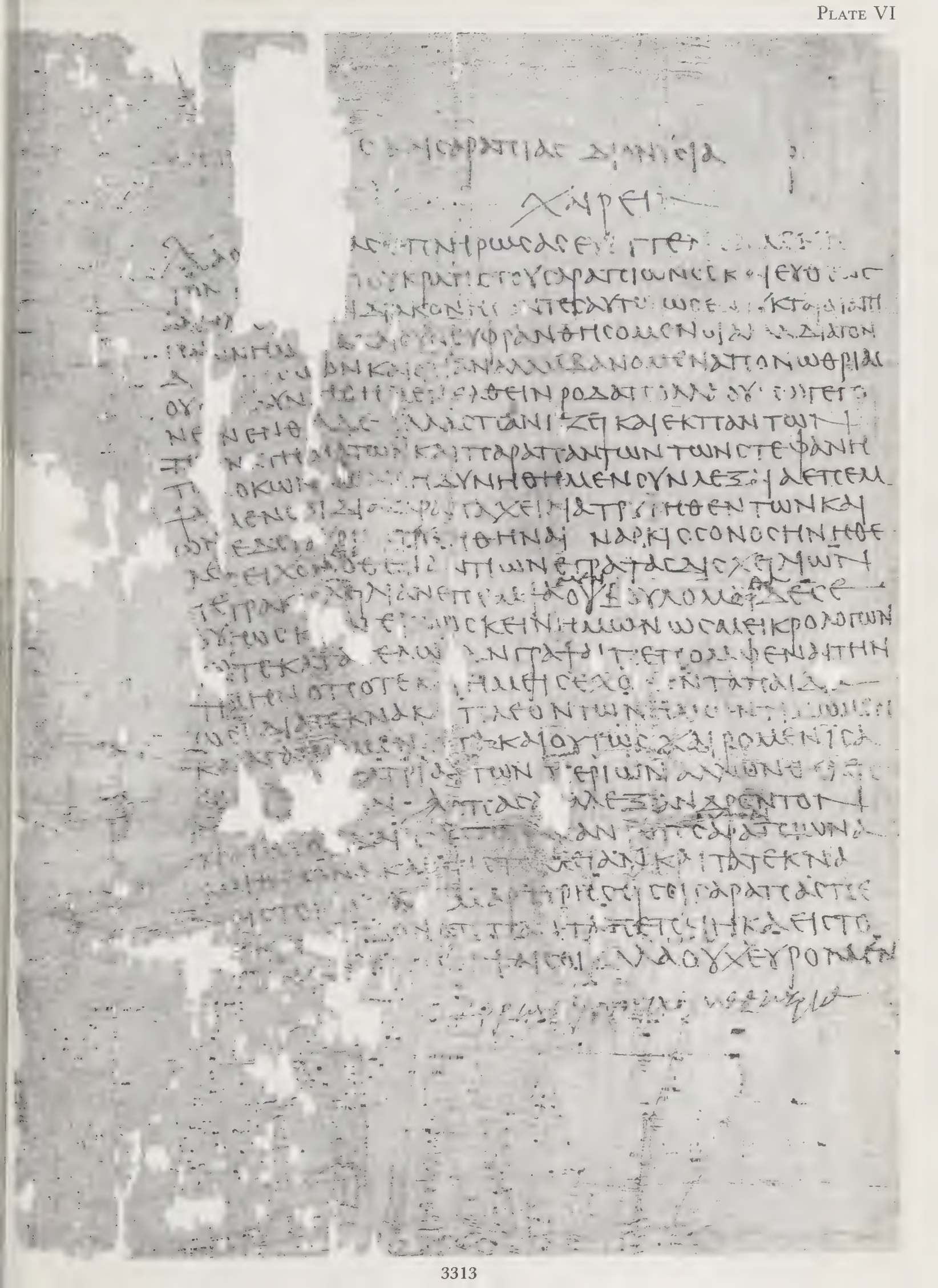

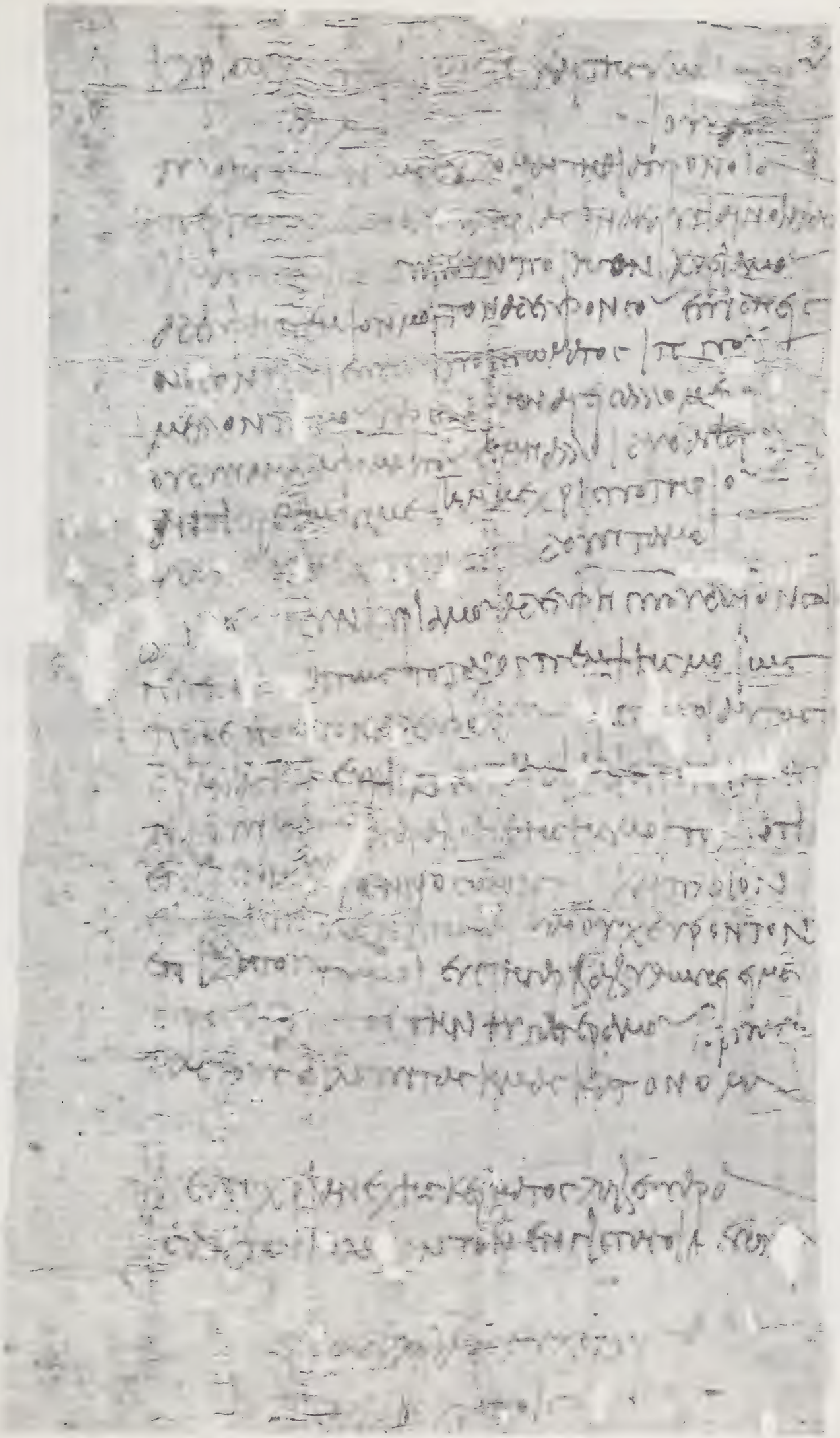

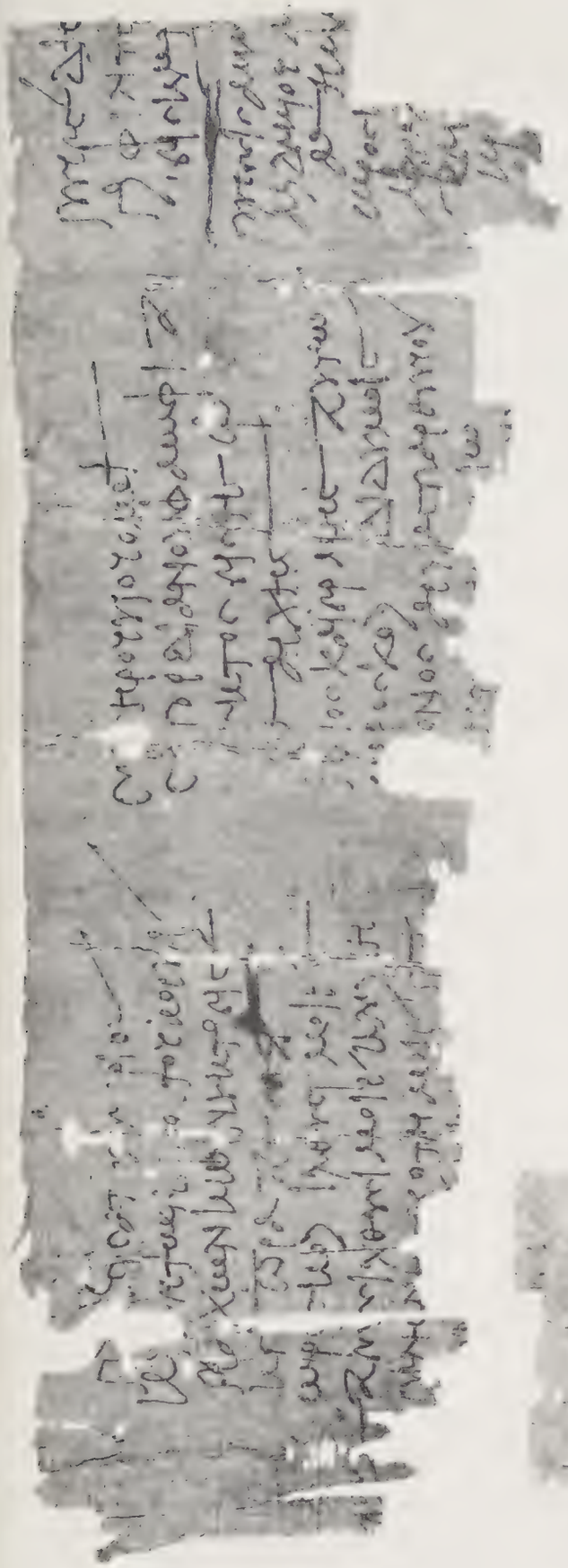

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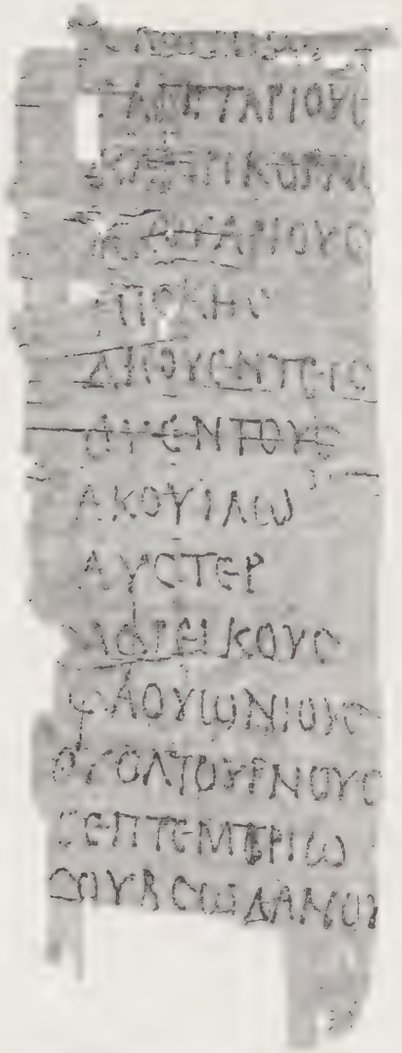

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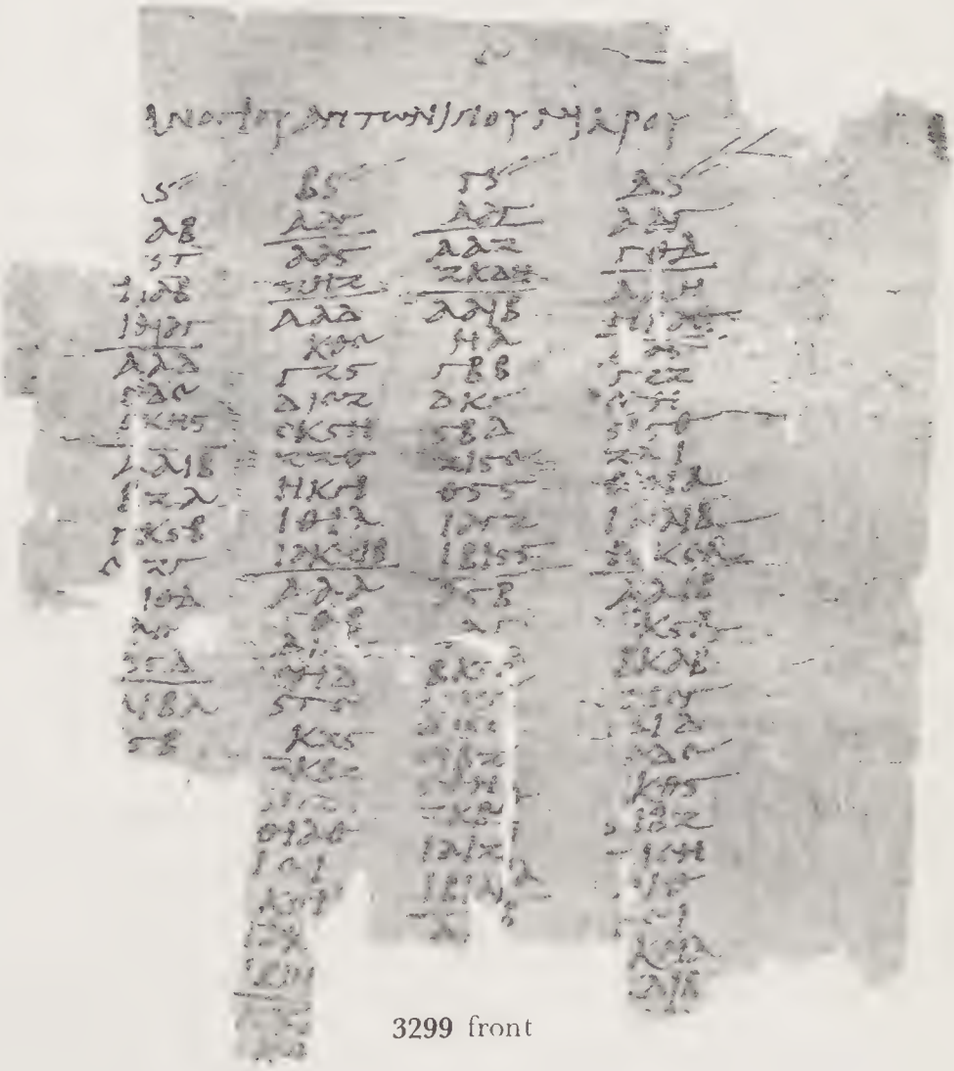

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